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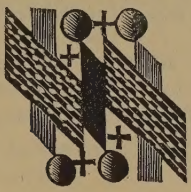
SCIENCE

# THE STATE OF THE PRISONS
BY JOHN HOWARD · INTRODUCTION BY KENNETH RUCK

JOHN HOWARD, born about 1726. High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, 1773. Visited prisons in England and all over the Continent, 1774–6, 1781, 1783, and 1785–6. Died of camp-fever while with the Russian army at Kherson in 1790.

# THE STATE OF THE PRISONS



JOHN HOWARD

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# EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

"HUMANITARIAN" is a modern word coined to express a modern idea, and it is not to be found in Johnson's Dictionary. Life for the privileged classes in his day was a more comfortable business than it had ever been before, or has been since. Power rested with them alone, and to them everything seemed for the best, in the best possible constitution. The miseries of the unfortunate, on the other hand, were not readily evident owing to the poverty of communications. So it was that glaring evils and hideous cruelties flourished and multiplied with impunity.

It is true that here and there a Goldsmith or a Cowper made music out of his sympathy for the oppressed. But these merely flattered the sensibilities of their readers: to shatter their hard-headed complacence an exposure of some intolerable abuse was needed, in plain prose, by a man of exceptional tenacity and force of character.

The abuse existed in the two hundred odd prisons of the day. There the innocent and the guilty, men and girls, women and boys, were herded together to be enfeebled for life or starved, frozen, and rotted to death. There ill-conditioned gaolers urged their charges to debauchery, that they might share in the profits of its supply, and robbed acquitted felon and discharged debtor alike of liberty and life, in the hope of swelling their own gains. There filth, oppression, disease, and despair united to broadcast physical and moral corruption throughout the land.

The man came forward in John Howard, and it was from the pity and indignation kindled in him by his contact with prisons on his appointment as Sheriff of Bedford in 1773 that the torch of the Humanitarian Ideal was lit.

To any one then conversant with his previous life, he must have seemed a most unlikely person for the task. He was forty-seven—elderly for those days—in indifferent health, and something of a valetudinarian. He had twice married, his first wife, who died after three years, being his landlady, and fifty-two when he was twenty-five. He had had an indifferent education, being early apprenticed to a grocer, but had abandoned business entirely on succeeding to the

estate of his father, a prosperous upholsterer. Then, after several tours abroad in search of health, he had remarried (this time a woman of his own age and station, whom he loved prudently and sincerely until her death in 1765), and settled on an estate in Bedfordshire. Now he seemed to have found his true vocation, that of a quiet country gentleman, sincerely interested in the welfare of his cottagers, but so little concerned with State affairs that his only bid for public notice had been three papers in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, on some meteorological observations he had made, since watching a thermometer had been one of his favourite occupations.

The truth is that tin will cut cheese as well as steel, and so long as he was a small country squire Howard showed no particular pre-eminence among other small country squires, save that he was sober and devout—an Allworthy rather than a Western. But when the occasion arose he could bring into play those qualities which had been obscured by his previous sheltered life.

Courage, for instance, had little scope in a country village even in the eighteenth century, but only the most fearless would enter even a single dungeon in those days, knowing that the gaol-fever [1] was not only widely prevalent, but also acutely infectious and very often fatal. Howard braved this and other infections for seventeen years, and at last died from the effects of one of them, contracted in an attempt to succour a stricken girl on the distant shores of the Black Sea. And if his physical courage was outstanding, what is to be said of a moral courage that could constantly resist the instant possibility of a life of ease, and choose instead danger, unrest, and the constant company of wretchedness and despair? As he progressed along the narrow path he had chosen, the temptations that faced him did not lessen: his growing fame led kings and princes all over Europe to flatter him and seek his company. Howard's method was the same with all: if he felt their interest could further his work he agreed to see them, and then told them all the most unpalatable facts he knew about their prison administration. Otherwise he sent a message to say he was too busy.

His industry, indeed, was untiring. Another, and a conscientious man, might have thought his work well done when

[1] The continued practice of placing herbs before the judge at the Old Bailey is a reminder of the former prevalence of gaol fever at Newgate.

he had once inspected every English gaol and published his investigations. Not so Howard. Before writing his book he visited every English prison two or three times, then toured Europe twice "conjecturing that something useful to my purpose might be collected abroad." And this is the manner in which he prepared his work for the Press: "so indefatigable was he in his attention to the business that during a very severe winter he was always called up by two in the morning, though he did not retire to rest until ten, and sometimes half after ten, at night. His reason for his early rising was that he found the morning the stillest part of the day, and that in which he was least disturbed in his work of revising the sheets as they came from the Press."

*The State of the Prisons* appeared in 1777, and Howard might then reasonably have considered his task accomplished. Had he done so, his social influence might have been commensurate with that of Henry Feilding the novelist who had, in 1751, produced *An Enquiry into the Increase of Robbers*, dealing with the same problem, but now almost forgotten.

Instead Howard devoted the remainder of his life to the cause he had taken up, and thus those who were not convinced by the argument of his book could hardly fail to be impressed by the example of his life. A second and third edition of *The State of the Prisons* followed in 1780 and 1784, each the result of further tours of inspection, and about this time the following note appears in one of Howard's memorandum books:

AN ACCOUNT OF THE NUMBER OF MILES TRAVELLED ON THE REFORM OF PRISONS

| JOURNEYS | MILES |
|---|---|
| In Great Britain and Ireland, 1773–6 | 10,318 |
| First Foreign Journey, 1775 | 1,400 |
| Second Ditto, 1776 | 1,700 |
| Third Ditto, 1778 | 4,636 |
| In Great Britain and Ireland, 1779 | 6,490 |
| Fourth Foreign Journey, 1781 | 4,465 |
| In Great Britain and Ireland, 1782 | 8,165 |
| Fifth Foreign Journey, 1783 | 3,304 |
| To Ireland | 715 |
| To Worcester | 238 |
| To Hertford, Chelmsford, and Warrington | 602 |
| TOTAL | 42,033 |

To God alone be all praise! I do not regret the loss of many conveniences of life, but bless God who inclined my mind to such a scheme.

In 1785, feeling that all had been done for the moment that lay in his power in the matter of the prisons, he sought a new channel into which his power for well-doing might be turned, and found it in an investigation of the source and best methods of treating the plague, whose frightful effects could be seen in every port in Europe. These investigations, together with the result of a further tour of the prisons, he embodied in a volume published in 1789 called *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe*. He then set off once more, this time on the journey that ended in his death. On his tomb at Cherson, fifteen hundred miles from his home in Bedfordshire, are these words:

JOHN HOWARD
WHOEVER THOU ART, THOU STANDEST AT
THE TOMB OF THY FRIEND
1790

Courage and industry are not always friendly virtues, neither are sanity, thoroughness, and determination, qualities of Howard's that may better appear from a reading of his work than from any narrative of them. Indeed a long acquaintance with suffering commonly makes men callous. But Howard would never have attained his hold on men's imagination had he not been gifted also with a sustained humanity. It is known, although he took care to leave little evidence of the fact, that in prison after prison he released unhappy prisoners by the payment of their debts, and that to those whom he was unable to relieve he came not merely as an inspector, but a friend. One story alone must suffice as an illustration. A Dutch prisoner of war once impressed Howard so much by his unselfish labours for his fellow prisoners that he asked whether there was any way in which he could serve him. The sailor at first affirmed his content with his lot, but finally confessed that when at home his greatest enjoyment was in a dish of tea. A week later a small sugar loaf, a pound of tea, and a tin kettle arrived at the prison.

Courage in war, industry in commerce, charity to the respectable poor, these were virtues that the eighteenth century could understand. But that these should be united to succour the miserable, the outcast, and the criminal, this was an idea so old as to be new again. Howard's fame became immense. A monument was raised to him in St. Paul's. Respectable citizens carved his name on their trees,

and wrote to the *Gentleman's Magazine* to proclaim the fact. Minor poets forsook their birthday odes and wrote verses on "The Triumph of Benevolence." And here and there a soul was stirred, a spirit kindled, so that a generation later Howard's biographer, in dedicating his book to Wilberforce, could say that it was in Howard's footsteps that Wilberforce had trodden, by Howard's motives that he was actuated, while in 1780, when Howard yet lived, Burke spoke these words of him:

> I cannot name this gentleman without remarking that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of all mankind. He has visited all Europe—not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosity of modern art; not to collect medals or collate manuscripts—but to dive into the depths of dungeons and plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and measure of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and compare and collate the miseries of all men in all countries. His plan is original; and it is full of genius as it is of humanity.

If the sole interest of *The State of the Prisons* lay in the fact that its author re-awakened the public conscience to the recognition of the claims of inarticulate minorities, it would be an interesting historical document, but hardly one to be read by Everyman. But it has other more general interests.

In the first place, prisons themselves, apart from their association with crime and criminals (the raw material of half the world's romance) have a particular importance from the fact that in them alone in modern times is one man completely subjected to the power of another or others. A prisoner is potentially in a worse condition than the slave, because the slave is the property of someone whose interest it is to keep his property in serviceable condition, whereas the prisoner is owned by nobody, unless it be the State which is ultimately responsible for his imprisonment. Consequently the condition of its prisons and its prisoners is no bad indication of the development of any society and its degree of civilisation.

For this reason Howard's book throws a valuable light on the social history of Europe at the time when he was writing. It is illuminating to find that the smaller states, like Switzerland and Holland, were far in advance of the great powers, such as France and the Empire, in their treatment of their criminals

Secondly, Howard's proposals for reform were so sweeping and so sane that they are likely to remain as the standard by which prison systems are judged so long as prisons exist. Moreover, the method in which he conducted his inquiry and presented its results has been a model for similar investigations ever since. Any Royal Commission or Parliamentary Committee appointed to-day to produce a report to act as a basis for contemplated reform proceeds exactly on the plan first outlined by Howard—minute investigation, a careful weighing of the evidence, a consideration of current methods in other countries, and a summary of recommendations. That Howard's should be so infinitely more impressive and inspiring a document than any of its successors is less surprising when we remember that there was no need with him for compromise since he held his commission alone and held it, he devoutly and sincerely believed, from God.

Nor is it only the historian, and particularly the social historian, who can find interest in the book. Howard, by the time he began to write, had become a trained observer with an almost journalistic faculty for seizing on the facts most likely to strike the popular imagination.

Finally, he had his full share of the eighteenth century ability to write noble prose. As a proof of this and as a final introduction to what he was and what he stood for, let him speak in his own words:

> Those gentlemen who, when they are told of the misery our prisoners suffer, content themselves with saying let them keep out prefaced perhaps with an angry prayer, seem not duly sensible of the favour of Providence which distinguishes them from the sufferers: they do not remember that we are required to imitate our gracious Heavenly Parent, who is kind to the unthankful and to the evil: they also forget the vicissitude of human affairs: the unexpected changes to which all men are liable; and that those whose circumstances are affluent, may in time be reduced to indigence and become debtors and prisoners. And as to criminality, it is possible that a man who has often shuddered at hearing the account of a murder may, on a sudden temptation, commit that very crime. *Let him that thinks he standeth take heed lest he fall,* and commiserate those that are fallen.
>
> To reform prisoners . . . should always be the leading view in every house of correction . . . as *rational* and *immortal* beings we owe this to them; nor can any criminality of theirs justify our neglect in this particular.

KENNETH RUCK.

*Howard.* There is no really satisfactory biography of Howard. The facts of his life are to be found in accounts by J. Aikin (1792), J. Baldwin Brown (1818), J. Field, "Life," (1850); "Correspondence" (1855). Methuen's published a life, by E. C. S. Gibson, in 1901.

*The Prisons.* The most vivid pictures of prison life are to be found in the imaginative writers: Goldsmith, "Vicar of Wakefield"; Fielding, "Amelia"; Dickens, "Pickwick Papers," "Little Dorrit"; Reade, "It is never too late to mend"; Wilde, "Ballad of Reading Gaol," "De Profundis."

The facts can be studied in Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "Prisons under Local Government" (1922); Ives, "History of Penal Methods" (1914); Fielding, "Enquiry into the Cause of the Increase of Robbers" (1751); Nield, "The State of the Prisons" (1812); Clay, "The Prison Chaplain" (1861); Du Cane, "The Punishment and Prevention of Crime" (1885); Ruggles Brise, "The English Prison System" (1921); Hobhouse and Brockway, "English Prisons To-day" (1922). See also Beccaria, "Crimes and Punishments" (Trans. Farrer, 1880); Bentham, "Works," vol. iv, ed. Sir J. Browning.

For further reading, consult Wigmore, "Preliminary Bibliography of Modern Criminal Law and Criminology" (Chicago 1909); Cumming, "Contribution towards a Bibliography dealing with Crime" (1914).

# EDITOR'S NOTE

*The State of the Prisons* was first published in 1777. Howard made additions and alterations in subsequent editions in 1780 and 1784, and gave an account of his observations after that date in a volume called *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe*, published in 1789. This volume was really a continuation of *The State of the Prisons*, giving rather more information about hospitals than that book, and rather less about prisons. A second volume of *Lazarettos* was published after Howard's death in 1791, and a fourth edition of *The State of the Prisons*, a reprint of the third, appeared in 1792, but there has been no reprint of any kind since that date.

The text given here is taken from the third edition of *The State of the Prisons* (the last published in Howard's lifetime) and from the first edition of *Lazarettos*. In view of the fact that the former work contains five hundred and five quarto pages and the latter two hundred and seventy-two, it is evident that all that Howard wrote could not be reproduced in an "Everyman" volume. Nor would it be desirable to reproduce it all. The greater part of both books consists of detailed descriptions of hundreds of prisons at home and abroad, all of which, with a few exceptions abroad and none at home, have long since been pulled down, and these descriptions now make tedious and unprofitable reading. Accordingly the following pages contain an abridgment of *The State of the Prisons*, together with some extracts from the volume on lazarettos. All Howard's general observations on prisons have been retained as written, but a number of descriptions of individual prisons have been omitted altogether, and others much condensed, the principle aimed at being to retain only so much as will give a clear idea of the conditions prevailing at the time. A complete list of the English prisons found by Howard to be inhabited will be found among the statistical tables at the end of the book.

All descriptions of hospitals and lazarettos have also been omitted, but his description of his own experience of quarantine has been retained, for its intrinsic interest. Some observations on schools and education, which appear in the *Lazaretto* volume, also seemed too interesting to be omitted.

# INTRODUCTION

THE distress of prisoners, of which there are few who have not some imperfect idea, came more immediately under my notice when I was sheriff of the county of Bedford; and the circumstance which excited me to activity in their behalf was, the seeing, some—who by the verdict of juries were declared not guilty; some—on whom the grand jury did not find such an appearance of guilt as subjected them to trial; and some—whose prosecutors did not appear against them;—after having been confined for months, dragged back to gaol, and locked up again till they should pay sundry fees to the gaoler, the clerk of assize, etc.

In order to redress this hardship, I applied to the justices of the county for a salary to the gaoler in lieu of his fees. The bench were properly affected with the grievance, and willing to grant the relief desired: but they wanted a precedent for charging the county with the expense. I therefore rode into several neighbouring counties in search of one; but I soon learned that the same injustice was practised in them; and looking into the prisons, I beheld scenes of calamity, which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate. In order therefore to gain a more perfect knowledge of the particulars and extent of it, by various and accurate observation, I visited most of the county gaols in England.

Seeing in two or three of them some poor creatures whose aspect was singularly deplorable, and asking the cause of it, the answer was, "they were lately brought from the bridewells." This started a fresh subject of inquiry. I resolved to inspect the bridewells: and for that purpose travelled again into the counties where I had been; and, indeed into all the rest; examining houses of correction, city and town gaols. I beheld in many of them, as well as in the county gaols, a complication of distress; but my attention was principally fixed by the gaol-fever and the smallpox, which I saw prevailing to the

destruction of multitudes, not only of felons in their dungeons, but of debtors also.

The gaol-fever is no new subject of complaint. Stow, in his *Survey*, mentions, that "in the year 1414, the gaolers of Newgate and Ludgate died, and prisoners in Newgate to the number of sixty-four." And speaking of the King's Bench prison, says, that in the six years preceding the year 1579, one hundred prisoners died there: and twelve between Michaelmas and March of the last mentioned year, "through a certain contagion called the sickness of the house"; and I shall presently have occasion, among the fatal effects of this distemper propagated from prisons, and infecting many abroad, to mention another ancient instance of that sort also. These effects are now so notorious, that what terrifies most of us from looking into prisons, is the gaol-distemper so frequent in them.

Upon this subject I was examined in the House of Commons in March 1774: when I had the honour of their thanks. Soon after that, Mr. Popham, member for Taunton, repeated the humane attempt which had miscarried a few years before; and brought in a bill for the relief of prisoners who should be acquitted—respecting their fees; and another bill for preserving the health of prisoners, and preventing the gaol-distemper. They both passed, that sessions: these two acts I had printed in a different character, and sent them to the keeper of every county gaol in England. By those acts, the tear was wiped from many an eye; and the legislature had for them "the blessing of many that were ready to perish."

The great honour done me by the House has excited the curiosity of some to inquire what facts I had collected. This is one reason of the present publication: but it is not the only, nor yet the principal one. There are still remaining, many disorders that ought to be rectified: prisoners suffer great hardships, from which I am desirous that they should be set free: the gaol-fever is not, as I am persuaded it may be, totally eradicated. These are my motives for printing this book. I think it will show plainly, that much is yet to be done for the regulation of prisons; and I am not without hope, that the legislature will finish what was so laudably begun.

I was called to the first part of my task by my office as sheriff. To the pursuit of it I was prompted by the sorrows of the sufferers, and love to my country. The work grew upon me insensibly. I could not enjoy my ease and leisure in the neglect of an opportunity offered me by Providence of attempting the

relief of the miserable. The attention of Parliament to the subject, led me to conclude that some additional labour would not be lost; and I extended my plan. The difficulty I found in searching out evidence of fraud and cruelty in various articles, together with other real sources of distress, obliged me to repeat my visits, and travel over the kingdom more than once: and after all, I suspect that many frauds have been concealed from me; and that sometimes the interest of my informants prevailed over their veracity. Besides, as I had in my first journeys gathered, from facts and experience, proofs of the mischievous effects of the want of cleanliness and fresh air, I had in my latter visits these strong arguments to enforce my persuasions; and, in consequence, some gaolers grew at last more mindful and complying, for the sake, not only of their prisoners, but of themselves and their own families.

It was not, I own, without some apprehensions of danger, that I first visited the prisons; and I guarded myself by smelling to vinegar, while I was in those places, and changing my apparel afterwards. This I did constantly and carefully when I began; but by degrees I grew less attentive to these precautions, and have long since entirely omitted them.[1] On account of the alteration made by the act for preserving the health of prisoners, one may now look into many a prison without gaining an idea of the condition it was in a few years ago. I wish the reformation to be not for the present only, but lasting. If the motive for amendment has anywhere been merely temporary, there is no doubt but the effect will cease with the cause: those who from such inducement have obeyed, will in future follow the example of others who have disregarded the law; and prisons that have been amended, will relapse into their former state.

As to what is still wrong, I set down matter of fact without amplification; which would in the end rather impede than promote the object of my wishes; that is, the correction of what is really amiss.

The journeys were not undertaken for the traveller's

[1] I have been frequently asked what precautions I use, to preserve myself from infection in the prisons and hospitals which I visit. I here answer, next to the free goodness and mercy of the Author of my being, temperance and cleanliness are my preservatives. Trusting in Divine Providence, and believing myself in the way of my duty, I visit the most noxious cells; and while thus employed, "I fear no evil." I never enter an hospital or prison before breakfast, and in an offensive room I seldom draw my breath deeply.

amusement; and the collections are not published for general entertainment; but for the perusal of those who have it in their power to give redress to the sufferers.

The writer begs his reader to excuse the frequent egotisms; which he did not know how to avoid, without using circumlocutions that might have been more disgusting.

# SECTION I

## GENERAL VIEW OF DISTRESS IN PRISONS

THERE are prisons, into which whoever looks will, at first sight of the people confined, be convinced, that there is some great error in the management of them: their sallow meagre countenances declare, without words, that they are very miserable. Many who went in healthy, are in a few months changed to emaciated dejected objects. Some are seen pining under diseases, "sick, and in prison"; expiring on the floors, in loathsome cells, of pestilential fevers, and the confluent smallpox; victims, I must not say to the cruelty, but I will say to the inattention, of sheriffs, and gentlemen in the commission of the peace.

The cause of this distress is, that many prisons are scantily supplied, and some almost totally destitute of the necessaries of life.

There are several bridewells (to begin with them) in which prisoners have no allowance of food at all. In some, the keeper farms what little is allowed them: and where he engages to supply each prisoner with one or two pennyworth of bread a day, I have known this shrunk to half, sometimes less than half the quantity, cut or broken from his own loaf.

It will perhaps be asked, does not their work maintain them? for every one knows that those offenders are committed to hard labour. The answer to that question, though true, will hardly be believed. There are few bridewells in which any work is done, or can be done. The prisoners have neither tools, nor materials of any kind: but spend their time in sloth, profaneness and debauchery, to a degree which, in some of those houses that I have seen, is extremely shocking.

Some keepers of these houses, who have represented to the magistrates the wants of their prisoners, and desired for them necessary food, have been silenced with these inconsiderate words, Let them work or starve. When those gentlemen know the former is impossible, do they not by that thoughtless sentence, inevitably doom poor creatures to the latter?

I have asked some keepers, since the late act for preserving the health of prisoners, why no care is taken of their sick: and

have been answered, that the magistrates tell them the act does not extend to bridewells.[1]

In consequence of this, at the quarter sessions you see prisoners covered (hardly covered) with rags; almost famished; and sick of diseases, which the discharged spread where they go; and with which those who are sent to the county gaols infect these prisons.

The same complaint, want of food, is to be found in many county gaols. In above half these, debtors have no bread; although it is granted to the highwayman, the house-breaker, and the murderer: and medical assistance, which is provided for the latter, is withheld from the former. In many of these gaols, debtors who would work are not permitted to have any tools, lest they should furnish felons with them for escape or other mischief. I have often seen these prisoners eating their water-soup (bread boiled in mere water) and heard them say, "We are locked up and almost starved to death."

As to the relief provided for debtors by the benevolent act, thirty-second of George II (commonly called the Lords Act, because it originated in their house) I did not find in all England and Wales (except the counties of Middlesex and Surrey) twelve debtors who had obtained from their creditors the fourpence a day, to which they had a right by that act. The means of procuring it were out of their reach. In one of my journeys I found near six hundred prisoners, whose debts were under twenty pounds each: some of them did not owe above three or four pounds: and the expense of suing for the aliment is in many places equal to the small debts; for which some of these prisoners had been confined several months.

At Carlisle but one debtor of the forty-nine whom I saw there in 1774, had obtained his groats[2]: and the gaoler told me, that during the time he had held that office, which was fourteen years, no more than four or five had received it; and that they were soon discharged by their creditors neglecting to pay it. Not one debtor had the aliment in York Castle, Devon, Cheshire, Kent, and many other counties. The truth is, some debtors are the most pitiable objects in our gaols.

To their wanting necessary food, I must add not only the demands of gaolers, etc. for fees; but also the extortion of

[1] If the late act does not include bridewells, it is required, by an act seventh James I, Cap. iv that "the masters and governors of . . . houses of correction shall have some fit allowance . . . for the relieving of such as shall happen to be weak and sick in their custody."

[2] The popular name for the debtor's allowance under the above named act.—[Ed.]

bailiffs. These detain in their houses (properly enough denominated spunging-houses), at an enormous expense, prisoners who have money. I know there is a legal provision against this oppression; but the mode of obtaining redress (like that of recovering the groats) is attended with difficulty: and the abuse continues. The rapine of these extortioners needs some more effectual and easy check: no bailiff should be suffered to keep a public house; the mischiefs occasioned by their so doing, are complained of in many parts of the kingdom.[1]

Here I beg leave to mention the hard case of prisoners confined on exchequer processes; and those from the ecclesiastical courts: the latter are excluded from the privilege of bail; and the former, generally, from the benefit of insolvent acts.

Felons have in some gaols two pennyworth of bread a day; in some three halfpennyworth; in some a pennyworth; in some none: the particulars will be seen hereafter in their proper places. I often weighed the bread in different prisons, and found the penny loaf seven ounces and a half to eight ounces, the other loaves in proportion. It is probable that when this allowance was fixed by its value, near double the quantity that the money will now purchase, might be bought for it:[2] yet the allowance continues unaltered: and it is not uncommon to see the whole purchase, especially of the smaller sums, eaten at breakfast; which is sometimes the case when they receive their pittance but once in two days: and then on the following day they must fast.

This allowance being so far short of the cravings of nature, and in some prisons lessened by farming to the gaoler, many criminals are half starved: such of them as at their commitment were in health, come out almost famished, scarce able to move, and for weeks incapable of any labour.

Many prisons have no water. This defect is frequent in bridewells, and town gaols. In the felons' courts of some county gaols there is no water: in some places where there is water, prisoners are always locked up within doors, and have no more

[1] By the statute thirty-second George II it is enacted, that "No sheriff, bailiff, etc. . . . shall convey any person arrested . . . to any public victualling or other drinking-house . . . without the consent of the person so arrested." Now if the bailiff himself keeps a public house, this seems to preclude the debtor's choice; he must go to a public house, or directly to gaol.

[2] In 1557, a penny loaf of wheat bread weighed twenty-six ounces. In 1782, the weight of a twopenny white loaf, at London was eighteen ounces; at Edinburgh, nineteen ounces and a half; at Dublin, sixteen ounces; in September 1783, at London, one pound three ounces; and the 4th of August, 1783, in Dublin, only eleven ounces three drachms.

than the keeper or his servants think fit to bring them: in one place they were limited to three pints a day each: a scanty provision for drink and cleanliness!

And as to air, which is no less necessary than either of the two preceding articles, and given us by Providence quite gratis, without any care or labour of our own; yet, as if the bounteous goodness of Heaven excited our envy, methods are contrived to rob prisoners of this genuine cordial of life, as Dr. Hales very properly calls it: I mean by preventing that circulation and change of the salutiferous fluid, without which animals cannot live and thrive. It is well known that air which has performed its office in the lungs, is feculent and noxious. Writers upon the subject show, that a hogshead of air will last a man only an hour: but those who do not choose to consult philosophers; may judge from a notorious fact. In 1756, at Calcutta in Bengal, out of a hundred and seventy persons who were confined in a hole there one night, a hundred and fifty-four were taken out dead. The few survivors ascribed the mortality to their want of fresh air, and called the place Hell in miniature.

Air which has been breathed, is made poisonous to a more intense degree, by the effluvia from the sick, and what else in prisons is offensive. My reader will judge of its malignity, when I assure him, that my clothes were in my first journeys so offensive, that in a post-chaise I could not bear the windows drawn up; and was therefore obliged to travel commonly on horseback. The leaves of my memorandum-book were often so tainted, that I could not use it till after spreading it an hour or two before the fire: and even my antidote, a vial of vinegar, has, after using it in a few prisons, become intolerably disagreeable. I did not wonder that in those journeys many gaolers made excuses; and did not go with me into the felons' wards.

I learn from a letter to Sir Robert Ladbroke, printed in 1771, page 11, that "Dr Hales, Sir John Pringle, and others have observed, that air, corrupted and putrified, is of such a subtile and powerful nature, as to rot and dissolve heart of oak; and that the walls of buildings have been impregnated with this poisonous matter for years together."

From hence any one may judge of the probability there is against the health, and life, of prisoners crowded in close rooms, cells, and subterraneous dungeons, for fourteen or fifteen hours out of the four and twenty. In some of those caverns the floor is very damp: in others there is sometimes an inch or two of water: and the straw, or bedding is laid on such floors; seldom

on barrack-bedsteads. Where prisoners are not kept in underground cells, they are often confined to their rooms, because there is no court belonging to the prison, which is the case in many city and town gaols: or because the walls round the yard are ruinous, or too low for safety: or because the gaoler has the ground for his own use. Prisoners confined in this manner, are generally unhealthy. Some gaols have no sewers or vaults; and in those that have, if they be not properly attended to, they are, even to a visitant, offensive beyond expression: how noxious then to people constantly confined in those prisons.[1]

One cause why the rooms in some prisons are so close, is the window-tax which the gaolers have to pay: this tempts them to stop the windows, and stifle their prisoners.[2]

In many gaols, and in most bridewells, there is no allowance of bedding or straw for prisoners to sleep on; and if by any means they get a little, it is not changed for months together, so that it is offensive and almost worn to dust. Some lie upon rags, others upon the bare floors. When I have complained of this to the keepers, their justification has been "The county allows no straw; the prisoners have none but at my cost."

The evils mentioned hitherto affect the health and life of prisoners. I have now to complain of what is pernicious to their morals; and that is, the confining all sorts of prisoners together: debtors and felons, men and women, the young beginner and the old offender; and with all these, in some counties, such as are guilty of misdemeanors only; who should have been committed to bridewell to be corrected, by diligence and labour; but for want of food, and the means of procuring it in those prisons, are in pity sent to such county gaols as afford these offenders prison-allowance.

[1] An act made in Ireland [3] the third year of his present Majesty, "for better preventing the severities, etc," has the following clause: "Whereas many infectious disorders are daily produced by the confinement of numbers in close prisons, whereunto there is no back-yard adjoining, and the lives of his Majesty's subjects are endangered by the bringing of prisoners into public streets for air; be it enacted . . . that every grand jury at the assizes or quarter sessions . . . may be enabled, and they are hereby required and directed, to contract either by lease, or to purchase a piece of ground next adjoining the gaol, or as near as conveniently can be had thereto, and cause to be erected necessary houses, and a wall sufficient for the security of the said prisoners."

[2] This is also the case in many workhouses and farm-houses, where the poor and the labourer are lodged in rooms that have no light, nor fresh air: which may be the cause of our peasants not having the healthy ruddy complexions one used to see so common twenty or thirty years ago. The difference has often struck me in my various journeys.

[3] Ireland possessed an independent Parliament until 1800.—[Ed.]

Few prisons separate men and women in the daytime. In some counties the gaol is also the bridewell: in others those prisons are contiguous, and the courtyard common. There the petty offender is committed for instruction to the most profligate. In some gaols you see (and who can see it without sorrow) boys of twelve or fourteen eagerly listening to the stories told by practised and experienced criminals, of their adventures, successes, stratagems, and escapes.

I must here add, that in some few gaols are confined idiots and lunatics. These serve for sport to idle visitants at assizes, and other times of general resort. Many of the bridewells are crowded and offensive, because the rooms which were designed for prisoners are occupied by the insane.[1] Where these are not kept separate, they disturb and terrify other prisoners. No care is taken of them, although it is probable that by medicines, and proper regimen, some of them might be restored to their senses, and to usefulness in life.

I am ready to think, that none who give credit to what is contained in the foregoing pages, will wonder at the havoc made by the gaol-fever. From my own observations in 1773, 1774, and 1775, I was fully convinced that many more prisoners were destroyed by it, than were put to death by all the public executions in the kingdom.[2] This frequent effect of confinement in prison seems generally understood, and shows how full of emphatical meaning is the curse of a severe creditor, who

[1] See Irish Act, the third of George III, p. 478, where such persons are required to be kept separate.

[2] I have in my possession a large copper-plate, first published in 1772, by Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen, showing the number of malefactors executed in London for the twenty-three preceding years; and the crimes for which they suffered. I will give an abridgment of it in a table at the end of the book. In it will be seen, that the total number of executions in London for those twenty-three years, was 678; the annual average is between twenty-nine and thirty. I leave to others the discussion of the questions, whether those executions were too numerous? whether all the crimes for which they were inflicted, were deserving of death? [3] An ingenious writer, Mr. Eden, *Principles of Penal Law*, p. 306, observes that "the accumulation of sanguinary laws is the worst distemper of a state. Let it not be supposed, that the extirpation of mankind is the chief object of legislation."—And it may be left to any one to judge, whether, including debtors and petty offenders, the number of those that died in the several London prisons of the gaol-fever, does not exceed the number of those that were executed annually during that time. I have not the number of executions in all the counties, but am well assured it falls still much shorter of the number that perished in prisons.

[3] A contemporary of Howard's estimates that there were then 176 capital offences without benefit of clergy, and 65 within benefit, 241 in all. In the former category were included stealing linen from bleaching grounds, and stealing privately from the pocket to the value of twelve pence.—[Ed.

pronounces his debtor's doom to rot in gaol. I believe I have learned the full import of this sentence, from the vast numbers who, to my certain knowledge, and some of them before my eyes, have perished by the gaol-fever.

But the mischief is not confined to prisons. Not to mention now the number of sailors, and of families in America, that have been infected by transports;—multitudes caught the distemper by going to their relatives and acquaintance in the gaols: many others from prisoners discharged; and not a few in the courts of judicature.

In *Baker's Chronicle*, page 353, that historian mentioning the assize held in Oxford Castle 1577 (called from its fatal consequence the black assize) informs us, that "all who were present died within forty hours: the lord chief baron, the sheriff, and about three hundred more." Lord Chancellor Bacon ascribes this to a disease brought into court by the prisoners; and Dr. Mead is of the same opinion.

The first of these two authors Lord Bacon, observes, that, "the most pernicious infection next the plague, is the smell of a jail; when the prisoners have been long and close and nastily kept: whereof we have had, in our time, experience twice or thrice; when both the judges that sat upon the jail, and numbers of those who attended the business, or were present, sickened and died." [1]

At the Lent assize in Taunton, 1730, some prisoners who were brought thither from Ivelchester gaol, infected the court; and Lord Chief Baron Pengelly; Sir James Sheppard, sergeant; John Pigot, Esq., sheriff, and some hundreds besides, died of the gaol-distemper. At Axminster, a little town in Devonshire, a prisoner discharged from Exeter gaol in 1755, infected his family with that disease; of which two of them died; and many others in that town afterwards.—The numbers that were carried off by the same malady in London in 1750, two judges, the lord mayor, one alderman, and many of inferior rank, are too well known to need the mentioning further particulars.

Sir John Pringle observes, that "jails have often been the cause of malignant fevers"; and he informs us, that in the late rebellion in Scotland, above two hundred men of one regiment were infected with the jail-fever, by some deserters brought from prisons in England.

Dr. Lind, physician to the Royal Hospital at Haslar, near Portsmouth, showed me in one of the wards a number of sailors

[1] See Plot's *History of Oxfordshire*, p. 25.

ill of the gaol-fever, brought on board their ship by a man who had been discharged from a prison in London. The ship was laid up on the occasion. That gentleman, in his *Essay on the Health of Seamen*, asserts, that "The source of infection to our armies and fleets are undoubtedly the jails; we can often trace the importers of it directly from them.—It often proves fatal in impressing men on the hasty equipment of a fleet.—The first English fleet sent last war to America, lost by it above two thousand men." In another place he assures us, that "the seeds of infection were carried from the guard-ships into our squadrons—and the mortality, thence occasioned, was greater than by all other diseases or means of death put together."

It were easy to multiply instances of this mischief; but those which have been mentioned are, I presume, sufficient to show, even if no mercy were due to prisoners, that the gaol-distemper is a national concern of no small importance.

The general prevalence and spread of wickedness in prisons, and abroad by the discharged prisoners, will now be as easily accounted for, as the propagation of disease. It is often said, "A prison pays no debts"; I am sure it may be added, that a prison mends no morals. Sir John Fielding observes, that "a criminal discharged—generally by the next sessions, after the execution of his comrades, becomes the head of a gang of his own raising":—improved, no doubt, in skill by the company he kept in gaol. And petty offenders who are committed to bridewell for a year or two, and spend that time, not in hard labour, but in idleness and wicked company, or are sent for that time to county gaols, generally grow desperate, and come out fitted for the perpetration of any villainy. Half the robberies committed in and about London, are planned in the prisons, by that dreadful assemblage of criminals, and the number of idle people who visit them.—How contrary this to the intention of our laws with regard to petty offenders; which certainly is to correct and reform them! Instead of which, their confinement doth notoriously promote and increase the very vices it was designed to suppress. Multitudes of young creatures, committed for some trifling offence, are totally ruined there. I make no scruple to affirm, that if it were the wish and aim of magistrates to effect the destruction present and future of young delinquents, they could not devise a more effectual method, than to confine them so long in our prisons, those seats and seminaries (as they have been very properly called) of idleness and every vice.

Shall these irregularities, the sources of misery, disease, and

wickedness, be endured in a nation celebrated for good sense and humanity; and who from these principles, do treat one sort of prisoners with tenderness and generosity? I mean prisoners of war. These have provision in plenty; some to spare and sell to the soldiers on guard[1]; we frequently saw their stated allowance hung up for their inspection. Some prisons have large areas for them to walk in; and at night every man had a hammock to himself. It is the farthest thing in the world from my wish to deprive captives of any one of these benefits —I am only desirous of seeing the same humanity shown to our own countrymen in distress: so that a consistent and uniform practice may prove our benevolence to be a firm and steady principle; and that those who are censorious may find no occasion for ascribing our kind usage of foreigners to a less amiable motive.

Here it will be said, prisoners of war are not felons, nor yet debtors; and government is sometimes, at the end of a war, reimbursed the expense of maintaining them. This latter I believe is fact; and the former is true without dispute: we do not look upon foreign enemies, nor they upon us,[2] as either debtors or felons: we cut one another to pieces in battle, but

[1] I am now speaking of the practice the war before last. The daily allowance, to six prisoners was, nine pounds of bread—four pounds and a half of beef—three pints of peas, four days in a week—six quarts of beer. On Friday they had not the beef; but a pound and a half of butter instead of it. On board the men of war, indeed, they were upon short allowance.

[2] I must not be understood here to mean a compliment to the French. How they then treated English prisoners of war, I knew by experience in 1756; when a Lisbon packet (the "Hanover") in which I went passenger, in order to make the tour of Portugal, was taken by a French privateer. Before we reached Brest, I suffered the extremity of thirst, not having for above forty hours one drop of water; nor hardly a morsel of food. In the castle at Brest, I lay six nights upon straw; and observing how cruelly my countrymen were used there, and at Morlaix, whither I was carried next; during the two months I was at Carhaix upon parole, I corresponded with the English prisoners at Brest, Morlaix, and Dinnan: at the last of those towns were several of our ship's crew, and my servant. I had sufficient evidence of their being treated with such barbarity, that many hundreds had perished; and that thirty-six were buried in a hole at Dinnan in one day. When I came to England, still on parole, I made known to the commissioners of sick and wounded seamen, the sundry particulars: which gained their attention, and thanks. Remonstrance was made to the French court: our sailors had redress: and those that were in the three prisons mentioned above, were brought home in the first cartel-ships.— A lady from Ireland, who married in France, had bequeathed in trust with the magistrates of St. Malo's, sundry charities; one of which was a penny a day to every English prisoner of war in Dinnan. This was duly paid; and saved the lives of many brave and useful men. Perhaps, what I suffered on this occasion, increased my sympathy with the unhappy people, whose case is the subject of this book.

when that is over we grow cool and compassionate. I grant there is a material difference in the circumstances of foreign and domestic prisoners, but there is none in their nature. Debtors and felons, as well as hostile foreigners, are men, and by men they ought to be treated as men.

Those gentlemen who, when they are told of the misery which our prisoners suffer, content themselves with saying, Let them take care to keep out, prefaced perhaps, with an angry prayer; seem not duly sensible of the favour of Providence which distinguishes them from the sufferers: they do not remember that we are required to imitate our gracious Heavenly Parent, who is kind to the unthankful, and to the evil: they also forget the vicissitudes of human affairs; the unexpected changes to which all men are liable: and that those whose circumstances are affluent, may in time be reduced to indigence, and become debtors and prisoners. And as to criminality, it is possible, that a man who has often shuddered at hearing the account of a murder, may on a sudden temptation commit that very crime. Let him that thinks he standeth take heed lest he fall, and commiserate those that are fallen.

But it may be said, enough of the declamatory kind has been written by others. Much it is true, has been written: and I beg leave to transcribe almost verbatim a few lines from a celebrated author, which may be thought to come under that description. After representing the sufferings of prisoners, he goes on to this purpose, "The misery suffered in gaols is not half their evil; they are filled with every sort of corruption that poverty and wickedness can generate: with all the shameless and profligate enormities that can be produced by the impudence of ignominy, the rage of want, and the malignity of despair. In a prison the check of the public eye is removed; and the power of the law is spent. There are few fears, there are no blushes. The lewd inflame the more modest; the audacious harden the timid. Every one fortifies himself as he can against his own remaining sensibility; endeavouring to practise on others the arts that are practised on himself; and to gain the applause of his worst associates by imitating their manners."

Besides the grievances already mentioned; there are several bad customs in gaols, and relating to them, which aggravate the distress of prisoners. I shall enumerate these distinctly, yet concisely.

## SECTION II

### BAD CUSTOMS IN PRISONS

A CRUEL custom obtains in most of our gaols, which is that of the prisoners demanding of a new comer garnish, footing, or (as it is called in some London gaols) chummage. "Pay or strip," are the fatal words. I say fatal, for they are so to some; who having no money, are obliged to give up part of their scanty apparel; and then if they have no bedding or straw to sleep on, contract diseases, which I have known to prove mortal.[1]

In many gaols, to the garnish paid by the new-comer, those who were there before make an addition; and great part of the following night is often spent in riot and drunkenness. The gaoler or tapster finding his account in this practice, generally answers questions concerning it with reluctance. Of the garnish which I have set down to sundry prisons, I had my information from prisoners who paid it. But I am aware that the sum is sometimes varied by sets of succeeding prisoners, and the different circumstances of a new-comer. In some gaols, if a felon can pay the debtors' garnish (which is commonly more than that of the felons) he is entitled to partake of the garnish paid afterwards by new-come debtors. In a few places, this demand has been lately waived; in two or three, strictly prohibited by the magistrates.

Gaming in various forms is very frequent: cards, dice, skittles, mississippi and portobello-tables, billiards, fives, tennis, etc. In the country the three first are most common; and especially cards. There is scarce a county gaol but is furnished with them: and one can seldom go in without seeing prisoners at play. In London, all the sorts that I have named were till

[1] "In the year 1730, Nicholas Bennet, Joseph Robinson, John Head, and George Taverner, were indicted at the Old Bailey for robbing John Berrisford of two half-guineas, two sixpences, and two halfpence, in New Prison under the pretence of garnish, which fact being plainly proved, they were all found guilty of an assault and robbery; and to deter others from the infamous and inhuman practice of taking the money, and if they had none, of stripping poor prisoners that were upon any account committed to prison, so that oftentimes they have perished for want of clothing and necessaries, they received sentence of death."—Burton's *New View of London*, p. 468.

lately in use. I am not an enemy to diverting exercise: yet the riot, brawling, and profaneness, that are the usual consequences of their play; the circumstances of debtors gaming away the property of their creditors, which I know they have done in some prisons to a considerable amount; accomplishing themselves in the frauds of gamblers, who, if they be not themselves prisoners, are sure to haunt where gaming is practised; hindering their fellow-prisoners from walking in the courts while they play, of which inconvenience I have heard them complain: these seem to me cogent reasons for prohibiting all kinds of gaming within the walls of a prison.

Loading prisoners with heavy irons, which make their walking, and even lying down to sleep, difficult and painful, is another custom which I cannot but condemn. In some county gaols and even bridewells the women do not escape this severity: but in London they do: and therefore it is not necessary in the country.[1] The practice must be mere tyranny: unless it proceed from avarice; which I rather suspect; because county gaolers do sometimes grant dispensations, and indulge their prisoners, men as well as women, with what they call "the choice of irons," if they will pay for it.

The author of *A Letter to Sir Robert Ladbroke* on prisons (particularly on Newgate, which was then to be rebuilt) cites in page 79, the opinion of Lord Coke, Horn's *Mirror of Justice*, etc., against this oppression; and adds afterwards, "The learned editor of *Hale's History of the Pleas of the Crown* likewise declares, that fetters ought not to be used, unless there is just reason to fear an escape, as where the prisoner is unruly, or makes an attempt to that purpose; otherwise, notwithstanding the common practice of gaolers, it seems altogether unwarrantable, and contrary to the mildness and humanity of the laws of England, by which gaolers are forbid to put their prisonors to any pain or torment."

The gentlemen of the gaol committee, who distinguished themselves by an accurate and zealous inquiry into the abuses practised by gaolers[2]; in their report concerning the Fleet

[1] Lord Loughborough, Lent assize 1782, at Thetford laid a fine of £20 on the gaoler of Norwich Castle, for putting irons on a woman.

[2] This committee is celebrated by Thomson, in his poem entitled *Winter*, p. 340, etc., present edition 1738.

> . . . Can I forget the generous few,
> Who, touched with human woe, redressive sought
> Into the horrors of the gloomy jail?
> Unpitied, and unheard, where misery moans;
> Where sickness pines . . .

prison, 20th March, 1728, after mentioning a petition presented to the judges by one who had been put in irons by the wardens, informs us, that the judges reprimanded the wardens, and declared, that "a gaoler could not answer the ironing of a man before he was found guilty of a crime." To the plea which gaolers use in defence of this practice, that "it is necessary for safe custody," an answer may be given in the words of Lord Chief Justice King (afterwards Lord Chancellor) to the wardens of the same prison, when he forbade dungeons, which they had made use of. That judge declared, "they might raise their walls higher, etc." See the report of the same committee. To what Lord King suggested of raising the walls, one might presume to add: The number of turnkeys should be increased in proportion to the number of prisoners. If the daring character of our felons should seem, after all, to make it necessary to confine them in irons, it would be right, at least, to bring them into court without irons, unless they have escaped, or attempted it before their trial.[1]

The Marquis Beccaria, in his *Essay on Crimes and Punishments*,[2] p. 75, observes that "Imprisonment, being only the means of securing the person of the accused, until he be tried . . . ought . . . to be attended with as little severity as possible." The distress occasioned by chains is increased by:

Varying the towns where quarter-sessions and assizes are held: so that prisoners have to walk in irons ten or fifteen miles to their trial: and sometimes to towns that have no prison; where numbers of both sexes are shut up together for many days and nights in one room. This occasions such confusion and distress, and such shrieks and outcries, as can be better conceived than described. Surely prisoners ought to be conveyed in carts; or else committed at first to the town where the

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Hail Patriot Band! who, scorning secret scorn,
When Justice, and when Mercy led the way,
Dragged the detected monsters into light,
Wrench'd from their hand Oppression's iron rod.

. . . . .

Much still untouch'd remains . . .
Much is the patriot's weeding hand requir'd.

[1] "It is the law of the land, and certainly ever hath been so, that a prisoner ought not at any time to be charged with fetters; unless the jailer be constrained to have recourse to them by the actual necessity of safe custody."—*Principles of Penal Law*, p. 187.

[2] Published in 1764, this work shares with Howard's the credit of awakening the conscience of Europe in regard to the treatment of malefactors.—[Ed.]

sessions or assizes are to be held. And in that town a proper prison ought to be built.

Gaol delivery is in some counties but once a year. What reparation can be made to a poor creature for the misery he has suffered, and the corruption of his morals, by confinement in a prison near twelve months before a trial, in which, perhaps he is at last declared by his country not guilty?

The judicious marquis, whom I quoted above, asserts that "Privation of liberty being a punishment, ought not to be inflicted before condemnation, but for as short a time as possible." And in cases of guilt, his doctrine is, "The more immediately after the commission of a crime, a punishment is inflicted, the more just and useful it will be." This sentiment is illustrated by a variety of acute remarks in the chapter of "The Advantage of immediate Punishment." My mind reverts to an admirable thought of Mr. Eden's, *Principles of Penal Law*, p. 330. "A very slight reflection, on the numberless unforeseen events which a day may bring forth, will be sufficient to show that we are all liable to the imputation of guilt; and consequently all interested, not only in the protection of innocence, but in the assignment to every particular offence, of the smallest punishment compatible with the safety of society."

One cause of gaol delivery being so seldom, is in some places the expense of entertaining the judges and their retinue. At Hull they used to have the assize but once in seven years. Peacock, a murderer, was in prison there near three years: before his trial the principal witness died; and the murderer was acquitted. They now have it once in three years.

Although acquitted prisoners are by the late act in their favour[1] cleared of gaolers' fees; they are still subject to a similar demand made by clerks of assize and clerks of the peace;[2] and detained in prison several days after their acquittal. At assize, till the judges: at quarter-sessions, till the justices of peace leave the town; in order to obtain those fees, which the gentlemen say are not cancelled by the act. And yet the express words of it are, Acquitted prisoners "shall be immediately set at large in open court." It is evident then, that all fees

[1] Fourteenth George III.

[2] See the table of the fees of the clerks of assize at the end of the book.

The Clerk of the Peace in one county demands as follows:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| For larceny and acquitted, | £1 | 7 | 0 | Whipped publicly, | £1 | 3 | 4 |
| Petty larceny . . | 1 | 8 | 4 | Bastardy . . | 0 | 17 | 4 |

of the commitment in respect to the prisoner are by this act totally abolished.

Since the said act, the clerks of assize in some circuits have started a new demand upon the gaoler, for the judge's certificate of acquitment; viz. six shillings and eight pence for the first prisoner acquitted; and a shilling for each of the rest: or two shillings for every one. I have copies of two receipts given by the clerk of the western circuit to the gaolers of Exeter and Salisbury. One of them is as follows: "Received 1 April 1775 of Mr. Sherry gaoler one pound eight shillings and eight pence for his certificate entitling him to his gaol fees for the county of Devon per J. F**** Clerk of the Assize." The gaoler told me this was for twenty-three acquitted prisoners.

I was informed at Durham, that Judge Gould, at the assize 1775, laid a fine of fifty pounds on the gaoler for detaining some acquitted prisoners, for the fees of the clerk of assize. But upon the intercession of the Bishop (proprietor of the gaol) the fine was remitted; and the prisoners set at large: the judge ordering the clerk of assize to explain to him in London the foundation of his demand.

One pretence for detaining acquitted prisoners is, that "It is possible other indictments may be laid against them before the judge leaves the town." I call it a pretence, as the grand jury are often dismissed some days before that time, and because those who do satisfy the demands of the clerk of assize are immediately discharged. Another pretence is, the gaoler tells you "he takes them back to knock off their irons." But this may be done in court: in London they have an engine or block, by the help of which they take off the irons with ease in a minute; the machine is brought into court, and the acquitted prisoner is immediately discharged. If, according to what I proposed, prisoners were tried out of irons, this pretext would be entirely removed.

Clerks of assize, and of the peace, ought most certainly to have a consideration for their service to the public: the thing I complain of is what I am led to by my subject, that is, the demand that is made directly or indirectly upon acquitted prisoners.[1]

[1] The clerks of assize give to the judges large sums for their places. One of the present gentlemen gave for his place £2500. On many accounts these places ought not to be bought of the judges. If they were only presented, the fees might be much lower.—The demand from the gaoler for a copy of the judge's calendar is now £1 1s.: whereas his Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the officers and their fees, etc. in the

Some gaolers live distant from the prison, in houses that do not belong to the county. Non-residence is not consistent with the attention that is requisite for securing the prisoners; and preserving good order, cleanliness, etc. Over the door of some of the houses of these keepers is wrote, "Spirituous liquors sold here."

Debtors crowd the gaols (especially those in London) with their wives and children. There are often by this means, ten or twelve people in a middle-sized room; increasing the danger of infection, and corrupting the morals of children. This point ought (no doubt) to be treated with tenderness. Man and wife should not be totally separated; but no women, unless prisoners, should ever be permitted to continue so much as one night in any prison; except, perhaps, when their husbands are dangerously ill. Yet the little probability there is of an industrious woman being of much service to her family in a prison: the number of men in the same room; and of lewd women admitted under the name of wives; prove that this affair needs some regulation.

Some gaols are private property: in these the keepers, protected by the proprietors, and not so subject as other gaolers to the control of magistrates, are more apt to abuse their prisoners, when a temptation offers. One of these gaols some years ago was quite out of repair, and unsafe; and the proprietor not choosing to repair it, the gaoler to confine his prisoners took a method, that was really shocking.[1] Some years before that, a prisoner in another of these gaols was tormented with thumbscrews. The grand jury took up the case, and remonstrated to the proprietor; but in vain. I had the account from a worthy friend of mine, who was upon that very jury.[2]

Of the complaints, which I have hitherto made only in general terms, I shall give instances in the account of particular prisons. To that account I refer, for evidence and fact.

Home Circuit, were of opinion that a demand not near so much was enormous, as we see in their report dated first December, 1735 (MS. p. 21):

"Paid by the gaoler of the County of Surrey for the copy of a calendar . . . . . £0 7 6
And by the gaoler of each of the other counties . . . 0 5 0

"As to these two last fees or articles, we are of opinion that they are unreasonable and no ways to be justified, etc."

[1] See account of Ely gaol. [2] Durham.

## NUMBER OF PRISONERS

In the spring, 1776, I summed up carefully the total number of prisoners in the sundry prisons. My list was as follows:

| | Debtors | Felons, etc. | Petty Offenders | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In Middlesex, i.e. London and Westminster; together with three prisons in Southwark, viz. the King's Bench, Marshalsea, and Borough-compter . | 1274 | 228 | 194 | 1696 |
| In the other thirty-nine counties of England . . . . . | 752 | 617 | 459 | 1828 |
| In the twelve counties of Wales . . | 67 | 27 | — | 94 |
| In city and town gaols . . . | 344 | 122 | — | 466 |
| | 2437 | 994 | 653 | 4084 |

Petty offenders in the Welsh county gaols, blank in the third column third line, are included in the preceding number of felons, etc., 27: most of the gaols in those counties being also the county bridewells.

Petty offenders, blank in third column fourth line, are included in the number 459 of petty offenders in the thirty-nine county gaols; and in the number 122 second column, fourth line.

All that were in the county gaols besides debtors, I have reckoned in the list of felons, etc., although many were petty offenders and fines.

In the third column, under petty offenders, are included a few felons occasionally committed to bridewells.

I have found by carefully examining sundry gaols, that, upon an average, two dependants (by which I mean wives and children [1]) may be assigned to each man in prison. My computation is confirmed by the account which we have from the benevolent society at the Thatched House, 27 March, 1782, as follows. Since their institution in 1772

| | |
|---|---|
| Discharged debtors . . . | 7196 |
| who had wives . . . . | 4328 |
| and children . . . . | 13,126 |
| Persons immediately benefited . | 24,650 |

[1] I do not include parents, many of whom I have seen sorrowfully attending at prisons, and deeply sharing in the distress arising from the confinement of their children.

We have further confirmation by the account from the Bristol society; who in their list published 31 May, 1775, have

| | |
|---|---|
| Persons discharged . . . . | 73 |
| who had wives . . . . | 45 |
| and children . . . . | 120 |
| Total . . | 238 |

And I find by the account of the society for the discharge of persons imprisoned for small debts in Dublin, that a greater number of dependants are there assigned. For the number of persons discharged by the society from the institution on the

| | |
|---|---|
| 15th of May 1775, to May 1782, was . . | 1134 |
| Dependants on them . . . | 3611 |
| Total relieved . | 4745 |

Each of these totals is considerably larger than the respective products of multiplication by my rule: the first exceeds by 3062, the second by 19, and the last by 1343. There is indeed commonly a surplus among debtors; but a deficiency among felons, etc. reduces the average of dependants to that which I stated.

| | |
|---|---|
| If then to the total number in England and Wales, that is . . . . . | 4084 |
| You add twice that number of dependants . . | 8168 |
| The number of the distressed is . . . | 12,252 |

It appears from the foregoing table of prisoners, that their number has been greatly magnified by conjectural computations; but surely the real numbers, with those partaking of their distress, is an object worthy the further attention of the legislature.

## SECTION III

### PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS[1] IN THE STRUCTURE AND MANAGEMENT OF PRISONS

HOWEVER sanguinary the wish of an angry creditor may be when he arrests and imprisons his debtor; there is no doubt but every one who listens, not to his passions, but to reason, must know and will own, that it is a flagrant crime to take away the life of a man for debt. And as to felony, a gaol is not designed for the final punishment even of that; but for the safe custody of the accused to the time of trial, and of convicts[2] till a legal sentence be executed upon them. "Humane treatment debtors have a claim to; nor can we consistently with any good principle, either of morals or government, refuse the same to persons accused, or even to the most atrocious convicts." —*Principles of Penal Law*, p. 52. The laws of England do not suffer private executions. No condemned malefactor may be secretly put to death; nor murdered in a prison directly or indirectly; much less ought those to be destroyed there whose sentence does not affect their life. Their destruction is not only unjust; it is inconsistent with prudence and sound policy. They might, no doubt, be useful at home or abroad; if proper care were taken of them in prison, to keep them healthy and fit for labour. But certain it is, that many of those who survive their long confinement, are by it rendered incapable of working. Some of them by scorbutic distempers; others by their toes mortified, or quite rotted from their feet; many instances of which I have seen. Messrs. Stephenson and Randolf of Bristol, great contractors for transport convicts, complained of this to Mr. Biggs, gaoler at Salisbury, in their letter to him 13 September, 1774. I will transcribe their words. "Sore feet prove very fatal. The mortality we met with in our last ship, if repeated in this, will so surfeit us, that we shall never take another. We lost an immense sum by them; and our ship is detained to this moment under quarantine."

If one who has turned king's evidence, or has been barely

[1] See Note B at end of book. [2] See Note C at end of book.

acquitted upon trial; terrified by his narrow escape, seeks for honest employment; he is commonly such a sickly miserable figure, that no one will set him to work. That, I believe, is the principal cause of his being rejected; for there are several sorts of labour that require but little confidence: yet the poor acquitted prisoner shall go from door to door asking for work, in vain.[1] Is it not to be lamented, that every spark of good intention, instead of being cherished, should be thus extinguished? and that the penitent should by an almost irresistible necessity be driven again, though reluctant, to the practice which soon brings him back to his former mansion; and shortens a wretched life, that might have been, that fain would have been, a useful one?

In order to redress these various evils, the first thing to be taken into consideration is the prison itself. Many county gaols and other prisons are so decayed and ruinous, or, for other reasons, so totally unfit for the purpose, that new ones must be built in their stead. Others are very incommodious, but may be improved upon the ground about them, which is occupied by the keeper, or not used at all. Some need little more than a thorough repair. In order to give what little assistance I can to those who must build a new county gaol, I will take the liberty to suggest what hath occurred to me upon this head, in hopes that some more skilful hand will undertake the generous and benevolent task of carrying to perfection a scheme, of which I can only draw the outlines. But first I will say a word of the

## SITUATION

A county gaol, and indeed every prison, should be built on a spot that is airy, and if possible near a river, or brook. I have commonly found prisons situated near a river, the cleanest and most healthy. They generally have not (they could not well have) subterraneous dungeons, which have been so fatal to thousands: and by their nearness to running water, another evil, almost as noxious, is prevented, that is the stench of sewers.

I said a gaol should be near a stream; but I must annex this caution, that it be not so near as that either the house or yard shall be within the reach of floods. This circumstance was so

[1] The first Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society was not founded until the beginning of the next century.—[Ed.]

little thought of at Appleby in Westmorland, when their new gaol was first building, that I saw the walls marked from nine inches to three feet high by floods.

If it be not practicable to build near a stream; then an eminence should be chosen: for as the walls round a prison must be so high as greatly to obstruct a free circulation of air, this inconvenience should be lessened by a rising ground. And the prison should not be surrounded by other buildings; nor built in the middle of a town or city.

That part of the building which is detached from the walls, and contains the men-felons' ward, may be square, or rectangular, raised on arcades, that it may be more airy, and leave under it a dry walk in wet weather. These wards over arcades are also best for safety, for I have found that escapes have been most commonly effected by undermining cells and dungeons. When I went into Horsham gaol with the keeper, we saw a heap of stones and rubbish. The felons had been for two or three days undermining the foundation of their room; and a general escape was intended that night. We were but just in time to prevent it; for it was almost night when we went in. Our lives were at their mercy: but (thank God) they did not attempt to murder us, and rush out. If felons should find any other means to break out of this raised ward, they will still be stopped by the wall of the court, which is the principal security; and the walls of the wards need not then be of that great thickness they are generally built, whereby the access of light and air is impeded. Every room should be vaulted; for I have known many poor creatures burnt to death, as at Halstead, etc., who would have been saved if such a precaution had been used. The staircases of all prisons should be stone.

I wish to have so many small rooms or cabins that each criminal may sleep alone. These rooms to be ten feet high to the crown of the arch, and have double doors, one of them iron-latticed, for the circulation of air. If it be difficult to prevent their being together in the daytime, they should by all means be separated at night. Solitude and silence are favourable to reflection, and may possibly lead them to repentance. Privacy and hours of thoughtfulness are necessary for those who must soon leave the world (yet how contrary to this is our practice! Keepers have assured me, that they have made £5 a day after the condemnation of their prisoners). In the Old Newgate there were fifteen cells for persons in this situation, which are still left standing, and are annexed to the new building.

The like provision for such as return to society cannot be less needful. Bishop Butler, one of the writers cited in the note, affirms that it is much more so, "since it must be acknowledged, of greater consequence in a religious, as well as civil respect, how persons live than how they die."

The separation I am pleading for, especially at night, would prevent escapes, or make them very difficult: for that is the time in which they are generally planned, and effected. This also would prevent their robbing one another in the night. Another reason for separation is, that it would free gaolers from a difficulty of which I have heard them complain: they hardly know where to keep criminals admitted to be evidence for the king: these would be murdered by their accomplices if put among them; and in more than one prison, I have seen them, for that reason, put in the women's ward.

Where there are opposite windows they should have shutters; but these should be open all day. In the men-felons' ward the windows should be six feet from the floor; there should be no glass; nor should the prisoners be allowed to stop them with straw, etc.

The women-felons' ward should be quite distinct from that of the men[1]; and the young criminals from old and hardened offenders. Each of these three classes should also have their day-room or kitchen with a fireplace; and their court and offices all separate.

Every court should be paved with flags or flat stones for the more convenient washing it; and have a good pump, or water laid on; both if possible: and the pump and pipes should be repaired as soon as they need it; otherwise the gaols will soon be offensive and unwholesome: as I have always found them to be in such cases. A small stream constantly running in the court is very desirable. In a room or shed near the pump or pipe, there should be a commodious bath,[2] with steps (as there is in some county hospitals) to wash prisoners that come in dirty, and to induce them afterwards to the frequent use of it.[3]

[1] By an act made in Ireland, third of his present Majesty, it is enacted, "That in all gaols hereafter to be built, there may be distinct apartments for the men and women; and that all gaolers, whose gaols will at present admit of such a distinction, may be obliged to separate and keep apart the different sexes."

[2] Fourteenth George III, cap. xliii.

[3] I might mention as an evidence of the advantage of baths in prisons, that I have known instances where persons supposed to be dead of the gaol-fever, and brought out for burial; on being washed with cold water, have shown signs of life, and soon after recovered. Even persons with the smallpox have found advantage by the cold bath. See some remarkable instances in the appendix to Dr. Watson's *Account of a Series of Experiments*.

It should be filled every morning, and let off in the evening through the sewers into the drains. There should also be a copper in the shed, to heat a quantity of water sufficient to warm that in the bath; for washing those that are sickly. There should likewise be an oven: nothing so effectually destroys vermin in clothes and bedding, nor purifies them so thoroughly when tainted with infection, as being a few hours in an oven moderately heated.

The infirmary or sick wards should be in the most airy part of the court, quite detached from the rest of the gaol, and raised on arcades. These rooms should never be without crib beds and bedding. In the middle of the floor of each room there should be a grate of twelve or fourteen inches square, for a current of air[1]; covered with a shutter or hatch at night. The same contrivance might also be convenient in the other wards. Besides the grate, it may be necessary to have in the wards of the infirmary, hand ventilators to freshen them every day. This machine is of excellent use when most wanted, and when the wind or sail-ventilator is of no service, that is, in calm weather. Dr. Hales (on the subject, p. 12) shows that it will supply seventy-five tons of air in a minute. But on further observation, I am persuaded that ventilators are of little use in those gaols, where there are no dungeons; for if they have courts, and the rooms are a proper size, and have apertures, and are kept clean; and also lime-whited twice a year, there will be no danger of infectious disorders.

The sewers or vaults of all prisons should be in the courts, and not in the passages, and (like those in the colleges) close boarded between the seats up to the ceiling, the boards projecting ten inches before each seat.

The infirmary and sheds will not render the court unsafe, provided the walls have parapets, or small *chevaux de frise*.

Debtors and felons should have wards totally separate: the peace, the cleanliness, the health and morals of debtors cannot be secured otherwise. The act twenty-second and twenty-third Charles II, chapter xx, requires this separation at night; that debtors may not be disturbed by the curses and other profane language of felons: "Be it enacted—That they shall be put, kept, and lodged separate and apart one from another,

[1] Dr. Lettsom's successful method has proved the benefit of fresh air in putrid fevers. See his *Medical Memoirs*, pp. 19, 57, 58, 62, etc. A putrid fever was lately in the poor-house at Yarmouth, but by the airiness of the situation was so mild, that many of the patients walked out with the spots on them.

in distinct rooms." These words do perhaps in the strict construction imply no more than nocturnal separation. But surely it is a far greater mischief for debtors to be annoyed and corrupted by the wicked conversation of felons all day long, than to be disturbed by it in the night-time. I am not designing to infer from hence, nor yet from the character of the gentlemen who composed that Parliament, that the act should be construed according to my view of the argument; or to what I conjecture was their intention. I know it is wrong to explain laws by such a vague principle as the supposed spirit of them. But it seems to me necessary that there should be a total separation: for where there is but one court, the lower class of debtors join with the felons in their diversions of fives, etc., and often become equally profligate: as at Worcester, Gloucester, Salisbury, Aylesbury, Bedford, Ipswich, Bury, Leicester, etc. These different sorts of prisoners are indeed generally separated at night. I do not recollect more than one or two gaols where they lodge together, viz., the Borough-compter, Clerkenwell bridewell, the Devizes and St. Albans. I must now add Tothill-fields bridewell, where debtors are confined, since Westminster gatehouse is taken down. Constant separation is desirable. The gaol will by that means be kept cleaner: and if the smallpox, or the gaol-fever, should infect one ward, the other at a distance may be free from it. This would also remove the objection that is now made against permitting debtors to work: that is, the danger of their furnishing felons with tools for mischief, or escape.

In the debtors' ward there should be a day-room or kitchen; also a large workshop for such as are willing to work. Some few gaols have the latter; and in them I have seen basket-makers, shoemakers, etc., employed in their several trades; preserving their habit of industry; contributing to the support of their families, and lightening the burthen that by their imprisonment falls on the respective parishes. Here I would observe, that wherever the windows are glazed there should be casements; for I have found the debtors' rooms, and passages of many town and city gaols, very offensive for want of apertures.

Prisoners indicted for felony should not be compelled to work. But I have heard many of them wishing they might be permitted to eran something for their more comfortable support. In some few gaols they have this privilege, as at Exeter, Norwich, Ipswich, etc.[1]

[1] The debtors at York, Lincoln, Norwich, Ipswich, Chelmsford, etc., employ themselves in knitting and weaving purses, garters, nets, laces, etc. This is an easy and amusing employment, and might be established in

I have said in my first edition, that women debtors should have a ward, a court, a pump, etc. to themselves; and no communication should be allowed between the two sexes: but observing that there are so few women debtors in prison (the number of whom may be seen in the table) I leave it to the consideration of the justices, whether a room or two in the gaoler's house may not be as convenient as a separate ward.

The ward for men debtors should also be over arcades, and placed on one side of the gaoler's house. This house should be in or near the middle of the gaol, with windows to the felons' and the debtors' court. This would be a check on the prisoners to keep them in order; and would engage the gaoler to be attentive to cleanliness and constant washing, to prevent his own apartments from being offensive.

A chapel is necessary in a gaol. It should have a gallery for debtors or women; for the latter should be out of sight of all the other prisoners; and the rest may be separated below. Bibles and prayer-books should be chained at convenient distances on each side: those who tear or otherwise damage them should be punished.

## REGULATIONS

Without a due attention to the economy and government of a prison, it is evident that no contrivance of structure can secure it from being the abode of wickedness, disease, and misery; I shall therefore offer a few hints for the better regulation of a gaol.

The first care must be to find a good man for a gaoler; one that is honest, active, and humane. Such was Abel Dagge, who was formerly keeper of Bristol Newgate. I regretted his death, and revere his memory. And such is George Smith, keeper of Tothill-fields bridewell.

This officer must be sober himself, that he may, by example, as well as authority, restrain drunkenness, and other vices in his prison. To remove a strong temptation to the contrary, it is highly requisite that no gaoler, turnkey, or other servant be suffered to hold the tap; or to have any connection, concern, or interest whatever in the sale of liquors of any kind. Gaolers

any prison, even among felons. For the art may be learned in a week's time, and no dangerous instruments are necessary. But then they must have proper rooms and courts for their work.

who hold, or let, the tap, find their account in not only conniving at, but promoting drunkenness and midnight revels, so that most of our gaols are riotous alehouses and brothels. What profligate and debauched company of both sexes, do we see let into our gaols, that the tap may be kept running! Even condemned criminals are sometimes heated with liquor till they become outrageous, as Lewis was, who was executed at Leicester in 1782. Besides this, the gaoler's interest in the sale of liquors, may prompt him to be partial in his behaviour to his prisoners; to treat at least with neglect, those who are poor and have nothing to spend; which is the case of far the greater number: while he shall caress dishonest debtors, who take shelter in a prison, in order to live there in riot upon the property of their creditors. I am persuaded there would be fewer debtors in prison if there were no taps, and they were restrained from riot and drunkenness.

I know that by the statute of thirty-second George II a debtor has a right to send out of the gaol for liquor and other necessaries.[1] This is a very judicious provision; and very beneficial to prisoners, where they have the free use of it.[2] But some keepers there are, who find ways to restrain this privilege, for the profits of their tap: whereas if they were prohibited from all concern in the sale of liquor, this would not only remove that check, and restore to prisoners the enjoyment of the liberty they are entitled to; but would also be the means of suppressing much intemperance; and perhaps of abolishing garnish, as well as clubs or night associations.

That it is necessary to deprive gaolers of all profits arising from the tap, I am convinced, not by mere speculation, but by what I have learned from conversation with gaolers themselves. I asked two of them, whom I found candid and intelligent, "What they thought would be the most likely means of effecting a thorough reformation in gaols?" The answer I had from both, was to this purpose, "Let no licences be granted for selling beer or wine in gaols: let it be made some other way worth our while to keep them."

Gaolers should have salaries proportioned to the trust and trouble; since no office, if faithfully and humanely administered, better deserves an adequate encouragement: yet not so much as

[1] Wine is not a necessary, therefore I could wish it were under the same restriction as spirituous liquors in all prisons.

[2] "At his free will and pleasure, to send for, or to have brought to him—at seasonable times in the daytime, any beer, ale, victuals, or any other necessary food."

to raise them above attention to their duty, and the daily inspection of their gaols.

The gaol committee, which I have mentioned before, in their report of the Marshalsea prison, 14 May, 1729, after enumerating many mischiefs which they found had been occasioned by the gaoler's holding or letting the tap, draw the following conclusion: "This shows the inconveniency of the keepers having the advantage of the tap-house, since to advance the rent thereof, and to consume the liquors there vended, they not only encourage riot and drunkenness, but also prevent the needy prisoner from being supplied by his friends with the mere necessaries of life, in order to increase an exorbitant gain to their tenants."

When I was in Ireland (January 1775) I found not without some surprise, that no liquors were permitted to be sold by gaolers in any of the prisons which I then visited. Upon inquiry, I learned that there is an act against it, made in the third year of his present Majesty.[1]

No prisoner should be a turnkey.[2] It is the gaoler's duty to inspect the wards himself every day, that he may see they are clean, and not to leave this to servants.[3] He should open and unstop the windows, and order the bedding out to be aired, and the cribs to be taken out and washed, otherwise they will gather dirt, and answer no salutary end. The magistrates of Glasgow[4] have expressly ordered that "The gaoler every morning and evening, at the opening of, and before the shutting up the prison, shall personally visit every room and place therein."

He must encourage and promote cleanliness. For this reason an old or infirm man should not be a gaoler: when that is the case, all is commonly dirty. He should be compassionate to

[1] The preamble runs thus: "Whereas many frauds and abuses have been committed by gaolers . . . exacting exorbitant fees, brewing of drink, and baking of bread, which they oblige their prisoners to take from them at their own rates . . . Be it enacted . . . that no gaoler or any person in trust for him, shall brew or bake in the gaol . . . or in any place . . . for sale, or keep any shop for the selling of bread, or beer, or ale, or other liquors, under the penalty of five pounds for every such offence."

[2] A turnkey later became known as a warder, and it is interesting to note that not until 1865 was the practice of employing prisoners as warders abolished.—[Ed.]

[3] In my first journeys many county gaolers excused themselves from going with me into the felons' ward. In York Castle (in 1774) the felons told me once and again that the gaoler had not been in their ward for months. I would not have quoted a report from felons, if the turnkey, who was present, had not confirmed their testimony.

[4] I ought not here to omit my grateful acknowledgment of the politeness and civility of these gentlemen, who, on my visit to the place in January 1775, did me the honour of presenting me with the freedom of the city, in a manner truly hospitable and obliging.

the sick. If he distributes the allowance, he must do justice to the county, or city, and to his prisoners, by giving to the latter their full stated quantity.

I have said before, a gaoler should not live at a distance from his prison.[1] He should not only reside on the spot, but be constantly at home. Prisoners generally take advantage of his absence. For this reason, no keeper of a prison should be a sheriff's officer. Such are very often abroad: and some of them have acknowledged to me, that their business as officers was incompatible with their duty as gaolers.

I had the pleasure to find a chaplain appointed to most of the county gaols; in consequence of the act made the thirteenth of his present Majesty. When this office is vacant, it behoves magistrates not to take the first clergyman who offers his service, without regarding his real character. They should choose one who is in principle a Christian: who will not content himself with officiating in public; but will converse with the prisoners; admonish the profligate; exhort the thoughtless; comfort the sick; and make known to the condemned, that mercy which is revealed in the gospel.

In the *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, p. 173, the writer, speaking of his labours, informs us, that "wherever he came, he used to visit all the jails and places of confinement; few in the kingdom having at that time any appointed minister." And by his affectionate address "he is said to have reformed many very abandoned persons in those places."[2]

In some prisons where there is a chaplain appointed, no worship is fixed for Sunday: in some where that day is fixed, the chaplain, choosing his hours, comes sometimes too soon in the morning, sometimes between morning and evening service, at the prisoners' dinner-time. In some there is no fixed day at all; consequently (as I have too often found) the service is totally omitted. It would be proper to have sermon and prayers once, at least, on the Lord's day:[3] and prayers two fixed days

[1] The bad consequences of a contrary policy I have often seen and lamented; particularly at Dublin in the old and new gaol.

[2] In the reign of Queen Mary, this faithful minister of the gospel was to have been a sacrifice. But in his journey from Durham to London, where he expected to suffer, his leg was broken by a fall from his horse: and by that circumstance Providence saved him from the fiery trial; for the bigoted queen died before his recovery. In the next reign he was promoted to the rich living of Houghton in Northumberland: and it was there he laboured, as is said above.

[3] For on Sundays I have often seen debtors and others lying on their beds in the daytime; which I am persuaded would not have been the case, if there had been divine service in the chapel.

in the week besides. And if a chapter of the New Testament were read daily by one of the prisoners to the rest, or by the gaoler, before the distribution of prison allowance, the time would not be misspent. The reader, if a prisoner, might be allowed a small weekly pension. The gaoler should not, as some do, hinder any prisoner from attending divine service. He ought to remove every hindrance. And, on Sunday especially, no visitants should be admitted during that time. Visitants who are there, should go out or attend. The chapel bell should ring ten minutes before divine service. Upon asking at more places than one, "Why there were so few prisoners at prayers?" I have been answered, "They are drinking with their friends." I have heard some worthy clergymen lament the little success attending their labours in prisons, which they attributed to the sale of liquors, and the want of a proper separation of the sexes. The gaoler should be constant at chapel with his prisoners; and set a good example for them to follow. The chaplain who officiates in the gaol may also officiate at the bridewell, where the distance will allow; and preach once a Sunday in each prison.[1]

It perhaps will be said, that I propose a great deal of duty to these gentlemen. The act just recited allows a sum not exceeding fifty pounds a year for their services. Many counties have fixed that salary; but I should hope that clergymen might be found who would act from a much nobler motive, a regard to the most important interests of their fellow-creatures.

The late act for preserving the health of prisoners requires that an experienced surgeon or apothecary be appointed to every gaol: a man of repute in his profession. His business is, in the first place, to order the immediate removal of the sick, to the infirmary; and see that they have proper bedding and attendance. Their irons should be taken off; and they should have, not only medicines, but also diet suitable to their condition. He must diligently and daily visit them himself; not leaving them to journeymen and apprentices. He should constantly inculcate the necessity of cleanliness, and fresh air; and the danger of crowding prisoners together: and he should recommend, what he cannot enforce. I need not add, that

[1] In the book of Common Prayer in Ireland, there is very properly inserted, "A form of prayer for the visitation of prisoners, treated upon by the archbishops and bishops, and the rest of the clergy of Ireland, and agreed upon by her Majesty's license in their synod, holden at Dublin, in the year 1711."

according to the act, he must report to the justices at each quarter-sessions, a state of the health of the prisoners under his care.[1]

At Newgate there are commonly about two hundred prisoners. Here the danger to them, and to the city from them, is great. To this capital prison in the metropolis, the magistrates would, in my opinion, do well to appoint a physician, a surgeon, and apothecary. One of the two latter to visit each ward in the prison every day. The two compters are near enough to be taken care of by the same gentlemen; and they need to be visited as constantly. This attention would, in all probability, prevent the spread of any infectious disease in those gaols; and silence county gaolers, who, when their prisons are infected, tell you (as I have often heard them), "The distemper was brought from Newgate, by prisoners removed from thence by habeas corpus."

No prisoner should be subject to any demand of fees. The gaoler should have a salary in lieu of them: and so should the turnkeys; their wages should not be included in the gaoler's salary: and not only their pay, but the number of them necessary for each prison, should be determined by the magistrates. Neither of those articles should be left to the interested appointment of a gaoler. If fees be not abolished, I am sure they should be reduced; and so should the chamber-rents for master-side debtors. In this matter (of the chambers) another regulation is also needful; that is, no middle-sized room should have more beds than two. The bedding and other furniture should be specified as to articles and value.

For common-side debtors there should be a ward entirely free: they should not be subject to any demand of rent: as in many prisons they are. These prisoners should either be alimented by their creditors without expense and delay; or have from the county the same allowance of every kind as felons: food, bedding, and medicine.

In order to cleanliness; than which scarce anything in the whole economy of a gaol is of more importance, the ceiling and walls of every ward and room should be well scraped; and then washed with the best stone-lime taken hot from the kiln, and slaked in boiling water and size, and used during the strong

[1] In some foreign countries an officer of rank is obliged frequently to visit the prisons, with a surgeon. He has a list of the prisoners, and sees each of them, and makes a report to the regency of their health, and the care that is taken of them.

effervescence;[1] at least twice a year; just after the Lent and summer assize. Each ward and room should be swept, and washed every day, by the respective inhabitants; and sometimes with hot vinegar. Idle gaolers affect to excuse their negligence in this respect, by pretending that daily washing would make the rooms damp, and endanger the health of prisoners. This is mere pretence. I know the effect is directly contrary. There is not in England a prison more healthy, considering the number of prisoners, than Tothill-fields bridewell; where the rooms are washed every day. The prisoners do the work by turns: and the healthiness of the prison is a demonstration, that no inconvenience, but great benefit is the consequence.[2] In Newgate, the prisoner who sweeps the ward has a double allowance of bread. Every prisoner should be obliged to wash his hands and face before he comes for his daily allowance; and to keep himself as neat as circumstances will admit. I have said before, there should be plenty of water in a prison; and need not add now, that prisoners should constantly have free and easy access to it. Nothing can be more unreasonable than the pretences used among us to justify inattention on this subject. All unprejudiced persons must acknowledge the absolute necessity of fresh air and cleanliness to preserve and promote health.

Every prisoner who comes to gaol dirty, should be washed in the cold or warm bath; and his clothes should be put into the oven, in a sack on a pair of iron dogs. He should be provided with coarse washing clothes to wear while his own are thus purifying: clothes should be kept ready in the gaol for this purpose.[3] Each prisoner should have a clean shirt twice a week. There should be in each ward a towel on a roller clean every day. Pails, mops, brooms, soap, vinegar, and fuel,

[1] This is called lime-white, although whiting is not an ingredient in it. Nothing is more effectual to destroy vermin, purify the air, and prevent infection. Whitewashing is not only proper for cleanliness, but attempts to escape are more easily discovered in white than in dirty walls.

[2] From the general practice of foreigners in building their prisons near the water, it seems, that they had no apprehension of bad consequences arising from such a situation; but they were convinced of the necessity of cleanliness, and of the bad effects of offensive drains.

[3] It would be better if criminals were to wear a kind of prison uniform during the whole of their confinement, as I have seen practised at many foreign prisons. Among other good effects, this would make them more liable to be discovered on escaping. On the other hand, they should be tried in their own clothes, for the obvious reason that they may be more easily recognised by the witnesses.

should be supplied by the county or town: otherwise gaols will never be kept clean and wholesome.[1]

No stable, hogcote or dunghill should be suffered in the court;[2] nor any fowls kept there, which I have often seen not only in the courts, but also in the rooms of many prisons. No gaoler should keep more than one dog, and none should be kept by any prisoner whatever. Sweepings, ashes, etc., should be taken away twice a week. If the bedding is straw, it should be put in coarse canvass; if it is not so enclosed, it ought to be changed every week. Each bed should have a blanket and coarse coverlet, and not be laid on the floor, but on a crib-bedstead, which should be movable for washing the room. This would prevent infection by cutaneous disorders, which are common in prisons. Sir John Pringle observes, p. 51, "There being no straw at Fort Augustus, the men were ordered to cut the heath for bedding; and it was observable, that such as were most careful in providing themselves with a due quantity, and renewing it often, were least sickly." May not one great cause of the unhealthiness of our prisoners be, the want of proper bedding, which obliges them to lie in their clothes? How different did the prisoners appear at Trieste from many that I have seen in Prussia and at Vienna! I was struck with the same good appearance of the women prisoners at several of the spin-houses in Holland. This reminds me of what I heard an old general say, "That he always found his men subject to illness and diseases when they lay in camps, not from dampness, but from lying in their clothes and the want of proper bedding; for at the same time all his officers had been quite healthy and well." Whatever be the cause of this difference, whether a more free perspiration in bed, taking off bandages, or ventilation of the clothes, I am fully convinced of the fact.

Prisoners should not remain in the daytime in the rooms in which they sleep; they should have a common ward, day-room or kitchen, and an allowance of firing. They should also be made to get up early, and be called over—to their bread—and

[1] I have observed in prisons abroad a very cheap and pleasant fumigation, which surprisingly corrects the offensiveness of the bad air. I suppose it is the same as is used in Roman Catholic churches, viz. juniper berries thrown upon burning coals in a chafing-dish.

[2] The Act of Parliament in Ireland, which I mentioned in a former note, orders that "No gaoler or any person employed by him, shall presume on any account to keep in the said gaols, or the yard, or the houses adjoining thereto, and provided for the use of such prisoners, any hogs, cows, or other cattle, under the penalty of forty shillings for such hog, cow, or other beast kept in the said gaol or prison."

prayers. This would divert them, prevent them from sleeping immoderately, and be conducive to health. The doors of all the wards should be open at six in summer, and seven in winter. Debtors should be locked up in their rooms at ten at night as in France and other foreign countries.

Those who drink only water, and have no nutritious liquor, ought to have at least a pound and half of good household bread every day. The bread should be one day old, and then honestly weighed to them. If once a week (suppose on Sunday) some of the coarser pieces of beef were boiled in the copper, and half a pound of the meat without bone given to each prisoner, with a quart of the broth, this Sunday dinner might be made an encouragement to peaceable and orderly behaviour: the turbulent and refractory should not have it. Such an allowance might help to remove a bad custom that obtains too generally, the pretence of refreshing prisoners with better food and drink on Sunday; upon which many are admitted into the gaols, and keep the prisoners from chapel.

I state the allowance in weight, not money, because of the variable price. Besides that quantity of bread, each prisoner should have a penny a day in money for cheese, butter, potatoes, peas, turnips: or he should have an honest pennyworth of one of those articles.

Here, as in the tap, I must insist upon it as highly necessary, that every gaoler, bridewell-keeper, turnkey, etc., be excluded from all concern in the prisoners' allowance; from all profit arising directly or indirectly from the sale of their bread, or other food. Whoever distributes it, should be free from all temptation to fraud: and be subject to a strong check. Scales and weights should be in all prisons, that the prisoners may see that they have their allowance. The whole allowance of prisoners should never be given them in money. In Ireland, the minister of the parish where the gaol is, orders the felons' bread; and keeps (should keep) the account of it: for he is allowed by Act of Parliament the third of George III, chap. xxviii, a sum not exceeding ten pounds a year for the trouble.

The reader will plainly see, that I am not an advocate for an extravagant and profuse allowance to prisoners. I plead only for necessaries, in such a moderate quantity, as may support health and strength for labour. The law allows the poor debtor who is detained in prison, two shillings and four pence a week [1] (I wish it were more easily obtained); and the government

[1] Thirty-second George II.

allowance to assize convicts under sentence of transportation is a little more, viz. two shillings and sixpence, which the sheriff charges to government in his bill of cravings, presented at the expiration of his office. And I believe upon the average price of bread, potatoes, etc., the allowance I have mentioned does not exceed those sums. I presume it may be thought rather incongruous to allow prisoners before trial (on which some of them may be found not guilty) less than is given to those that are convicted.

No fighting should be suffered in a gaol: no quarrelling, or abusive language; nor the frequent occasion of them, gaming. If any one be injured, let him complain to the keeper, who must hear both parties face to face, decide the matter, and punish the aggressor by closer confinement. Faults that deserve more severe animadversion, should be reserved for the cognisance of the magistrates, or an inspector.

Money sent, collected, or bequeathed, should be distributed by the magistrates impartially. Some of it might be laid out in tools, etc., for such debtors as will work.

The mention of legacies reminds me of the need there is of a list of them painted legibly on a board; which should be hung up so as to be read by the prisoners. Very few gaols have such a table: and for want of it many legacies have been entirely lost; and the charitable intention of the testators frustrated. Yet care of legacies is expressly required by the act thirty-second George II. "And it is further enacted that it be given in charge to every grand jury impanelled and sworn, to make inquiry concerning the same."

In the like conspicuous manner should be hung up in every gaol an authentic table of fees, till they all are abolished. This also is expressly required by the same act. Yet in many gaols it is totally disregarded, and they have no such table, and prisoners are exposed to the imposition of keepers.

In the act twenty-fourth George II which prohibits the use of spirituous liquors in prisons or workhouses, it is expressly required, that every gaoler, keeper, master, etc., shall procure one or more copies of the three clauses[1] which contain the

[1] In the prohibiting clauses, a fine of one hundred pounds is laid upon any gaoler, keeper, master, etc., who shall sell, use, lend, or give away any such liquors; or knowingly permit them to be sold, used, etc., in the house; except they be prescribed by a regular physician, surgeon, or apothecary, to be used medicinally.—And a fine of ten pounds to twenty pounds, or any time not exceeding three months' imprisonment, for any person who shall bring such liquors into the house. One moiety of these fines, as well as of that mentioned above, to the informer: the other moiety

several articles of the prohibition, to be printed or fairly written, and hung up in one of the most public places of the prison or workhouse, and renewed as occasion requires, under the penalty of forty shillings for every default.

There should also be a table of the diet or allowance to prisoners: for want of which I have known them defrauded of a considerable part of their food: the whole of which is nowhere more than sufficient. The same table should exhibit the particulars of bedding, straw, etc.

The act for preserving the health of prisoners requires that it be painted on a board, etc.; not merely written or printed on paper, because that is more perishable, and liable to be torn.[1] I have observed that those prisons were the cleanest in which the act was conspicuously hung up. The rules for cleanliness, and orders against garnish, gaming, drunkenness, quarrelling, profaneness and obscenity, should also be visibly exhibited; with the penalties for each of those crimes. The penalties should be fixed by the magistrates, or by law. The table should also show the hours of opening and shutting the several wards; and of attending public worship. Besides setting down these hours in a table, notice should be given of them by a bell, as in the dockyards. I have known prisoners absent from chapel, who said they would have been there, but did not know the service was performing.

It is expressly required by the act thirty-second George II that rules and orders made, signed, and confirmed, as the table of fees, be drawn up for every prison, and hung up conspicuous in it for the inspection of prisoners.[2] Yet in many prisons

of each of the two smaller fines to the prisoners; or, in the workhouse, to the poor.

I have not seen the clauses hung up in any workhouse. I shall in the sequel mark the numerous prisons that have the same defect: I could also have mentioned prisons in which, notwithstanding the act, spirituous liquors are freely used: I could even name gaolers who find ways to evade the act, and do themselves sell such liquors to their prisoners; and I have known the clauses against spirituous liquors hung up 'till the keepers had licences, after which they were no more seen.—I have seen so much of the bad effects of spirituous liquors, that I am persuaded a total prohibition of them would be greatly conducive to the health and morals of the community.—Dr. McFarlan, in his *Inquiries concerning the Poor*, p. 30, says, "There is no vice that has ruined a greater number of tradesmen, or brought more families to misery, than this habit of drinking spirituous liquors."

[1] I mention this circumstance, that may seem trifling, as I know the disposition of prisoners to destroy the printed copies of the clauses against spirituous liquors.

[2] "Be it also enacted . . . That the judges and justices of assize . . . shall, at all assizes . . . make inquiry whether such table of fees, and rules and

neither tables of fees nor orders are to be seen; the latter in very few. Regulations relative to cleanliness and order, are as necessary for debtors as for felons; the want of them have often been lamented by keepers.

An alarm bell would be extremely proper in every prison, in order to summon assistance in case of any insurrection, or general escape. The very idea of such a thing would greatly contribute to prevent the projecting of such schemes.

Finally: The care of a prison is too important to be left wholly to a gaoler; paid indeed for his attendance, but often tempted by his passions, or interest, to fail in his duty. To every prison there should be an inspector appointed; either by his colleagues in the magistracy, or by Parliament.[1] Sheriffs and magistrates have indeed this power already; and prisons are their immediate care. But some sheriffs excuse themselves from attention to this part of their duty, on account of the short duration, expense, and trouble of their office: and these gentlemen, as well as gentlemen in the commission of the peace, have no doubt been fearful of the consequence of looking into prisons. But the danger from such inspection is in great measure abated: and it may be expected that sheriffs will now engage in this business; and that among justices, and town magistrates, there may always be found one man generous enough to undertake this important service. Or if the constant trouble be thought too much for one person, it may proceed by annual, quarterly, or monthly rotation. The inspector should make his visit once in a week, changing his days. He should take with him a memorandum of all the rules, and inquire into the observance or neglect of them. He should (as is done in some of our hospitals) look into every room, to see if it be clean, etc. He should speak with every prisoner; hear all complaints; and immediately correct what he finds manifestly wrong: what he doubts of, he may refer to his brethren in office, at their next meeting. A good gaoler will be pleased with this scrutiny: it will do him honour, and confirm him in his station:

orders . . . are hnug up and remain public . . . and shall inform themselves . . . and supply and redress . . . and shall expressly give in charge to every grand jury impanelled and sworn before them respectively, to make inquiries concerning the same."

[1] The Vagrant Act seventeenth George II requires that two justices visit the houses of correction "twice, or oftener if need be, in every year; and to examine into the estate and management thereof, and to report, etc." And that the justices at quarter-sessions impose fines and penalties on the governors or masters who do not keep their prisoners to hard labour, and punish and correct them according to the directions of the warrants, etc.

in case of a less worthy gaoler, the examination is more needful, in order to his being reprimanded; and, if he be incorrigible, he should be discharged. This honourable delegate should have no salary: he should engage from the noble motive of doing justice to prisoners, and service to his country. The great Dr. Young says: "If half the misery that is felt by some, were seen by others, it would shock them with horror." And the author of *Telemachus* makes this delicate remark: "The prosperous turn away their eyes from the miserable, not through insensibility, but because the sight is an interruption of their gaiety." If such motives prevail with those who think themselves under no obligation to show pity to prisoners; surely magistrates should act upon a more righteous principle, and consider what is due from them.

I have often inquired of gaolers, whether the sheriffs, justices, or town-magistrates inspect their gaols? Many of the oldest have answered: "None of those gentlemen ever looked into the dungeons, or even the wards of my gaol." Others have said: "Those gentlemen think that if they came into my gaol, they would soon be in their graves." Others: "The justices think the inside of my house too close for them; they satisfy themselves with viewing the outside." Now if magistrates continue thus negligent of their duty, a general thorough reformation of our prisons must be despaired of. What has been already obtained will soon be lost; and all will sink again into the former dreadful condition.

## BRIDEWELLS

If our bridewells be not more properly conducted, sending prisoners from them to county gaols will defeat all the care of the most attentive gaolers, and the whole intention of the act for preserving the health of prisoners. And when offenders are discharged, they will spread disease and vice wherever they go: and instead of being amended, become an aggravated evil to society.

It is a shocking thing to destroy in prison the morals, the health, and (as is often done) the lives of those whom the law consigns only to hard labour and correction. One is charged with bastardy: another is abusive in a drunken quarrel: a young creature, who perhaps was never taught a moral lesson, is guilty of some petty theft—send them to bridewell for a

year, or two, which they must waste in idleness, hunger, dirt, and with companions much improved by such education. If that prison be not secure, send them into still worse company; that of abandoned felons in the county gaol. What is this but devoting them to destruction? Many may date the total loss of every principle of honour and virtue, from their confinement in these schools of wickedness.

Every county and town that has a bridewell should be careful to see, first of all, that it be suitable to the purpose. In many places the county gaol is also a bridewell. But this prison ought to be quite separate from the gaol: at least not within the same walls: nor should even the courtyard be common to both. The building must be proportioned to the general number of delinquents. None of the rooms for confinement should be lower than the ground floor; rather a story above it. Each workroom should have a thoroughfare for air: but the opposite windows need not be equal; the back windows half the size of those in front, and six feet from the floor.[1] Few or none of the windows should have glass; only blinds, similar to what are used in distilleries; or shutters, and these should be open several hours in the day. The rooms, where the windows are not glazed, should have fireplaces. The windows should be by no means towards the street, that spirituous liquors or files, etc. may not be conveyed to the prisoners. In the courtyard (for such is necessary in every prison [2]) there should be a pump, or some other provision for water in plenty. And prisoners should be permitted to walk about, when they have done working.

For in work they ought, most certainly, to be employed. This is indispensably requisite. Not one should be idle, that is not sick.[3] Where the prisoners are numerous, there should

[1] In all large rooms, where there are numbers of people, provision should be made for letting out the vitiated air at the top of them. See *Dr. Priestley's Experiments*, etc., p. 281.

[2] By an act seventh James I cap. iv it is required that there be in every county "one or more fit and convenient house or houses of correction, with convenient backside thereunto adjoining . . . Every justice of peace within every county . . . where such house and backside shall not be erected or provided," (within about two years) "shall forfeit for his said neglect, five pounds of lawful English money"; one moiety to the informer, the other towards erecting, building, etc., the said house and backside.—And an act made in Ireland the tenth and eleventh of Charles I requireth same, under the like penalty for neglect.

[3] Many are committed to bridewell to live in idleness. Some warrants do not order them to labour. Magistrates should consider that prisoners confined for one or two years are entirely ruined; not only as to morals, but as to their capacity for labour; for I have known some on going to work, immediately fall into a decline.

be several workrooms; and but few prisoners in one room. Those who work by compulsion are more likely to be seduced to idleness in large companies, than when they were more solitary. The keeper should be a master of some manufacture;[1] a man of activity,[2] prudence, and temper. And he should keep his prisoners at work ten hours a day; mealtimes included.

For women, especially those that have children with them, and sometimes at the breast, there should be a chimney in one or two rooms: and in winter they should be allowed firing. I have known infants starved to death for want of this.[3] In some prisons where firing is allowed, the smoke has no vent but at the doors and windows. There should be a separate room or two for faulty apprentices, as at Tothill-fields, Clerkenwell, St. George's Fields, etc.[4] And two airy rooms for the sick: with medical relief. Men and women should be here entirely separated, as well as in gaols, to prevent the debauchery and vice so generally practised in our prisons. They should have workshops, as well as night-rooms, separate.[5] There

[1] The acts cited in a preceding note require that houses of correction have "mills, turns, cards, and such-like necessary implements, to set rogues or other idle persons on work." And the act seventeenth George II quoted in a former note, requires that the justices at their quarter-sessions "take effectual care that the houses of correction . . . be duly fitted up, furnished, and supplied with sufficient implements, materials, and furniture, for keeping, relieving, setting to work, employing, and correcting all idle and disorderly persons, rogues, vagabonds, etc."

[2] It was remarked that a gaoler should not be an old or infirm person; the same caution is requisite with regard to the keeper of a bridewell; since such an one would neither be able to keep the prisoners properly at work, nor to prevent their making their escape at the time of locking up, as I knew to happen at Preston in Lancashire, and other places.

[3] Not having sufficiently insisted on the necessity of an allowance of firing in gaols, I take occasion here to observe, that this is not only what humanity demands in our climate, but that it is essential to the preservation of the health of prisoners, by promoting the circulation of air, and preventing those mortifications of the feet to which they are so liable. I well know, that the want of firing joined to scanty provision, has been the cause of great mortality in our prisons during the winter. In one of these houses three prisoners were starved to death, only one halfpenny being found on them all. I waited on the coroner (who from the humanity of our laws must be applied to in such a case) and he acquainted me, that the verdict brought in was by the visitation of God, otherwise, the keeper would have been liable to a prosecution for felony, and might have been hanged; whereas, the fault lay with the justices, who had ordered an allowance not sufficient to support nature.

[4] Boys confined for correction should always be separate from other prisoners, and indeed from one another. A kind and tender monitor should often see them, and without tiring their attention, converse with them as a parent or a friend.

[5] In all prisons, it would be an excellent improvement to have crib beds for each person, like those at Haslar, and the Royal Hospital at Plymouth. These may be made of cast iron, without sides, nearly as cheap as of

should be baths, and an oven, for the same purposes as in the gaols. In some county bridewells there are from ten to twenty prisoners, and in Tothill-fields and Clerkenwell many more. Great care should be taken to prevent infection; to keep the house clean, and well aired: and invariably to adhere to strict rules of sobriety and diligence, in order to correct the faults of prisoners, and make them for the future useful to society. Gentle discipline is commonly more efficacious than severity; which should not be exercised but on such as will not be amended by lenity. These should be punished by solitary confinement on bread and water, for a time proportioned to their fault.[1] Endeavours should be used to persuade the offender that he is corrected only for his own good. The keeper should, by all means, reside in the house. He should not be suffered to farm any part of the allowance: nor to sell liquor, or anything else. I have often observed, that bridewells are cleaner and quieter where keepers have no licence. He should have no fees,[2] but a salary proportioned to the trust, that he may not be obliged to follow any business out of the house. The whole management should be frequently examined, in the same manner as that of a gaol, and by the same sort of inspectors. In the house there should be a room for the magistrates, as there is in foreign houses of correction, similar to the governors' room in hospitals,

oak. The beds or cradles at Plymouth are fourteen inches from the floor: three feet one inch high at the head, and two feet three inches at the feet: six feet two inches long, and three feet one inch wide in the clear. The boards on the sides (three feet eight inches long) slide in an inch groove. A medicine box hangs by two hooks at the back of each cradle, which is necessary only in infirmaries. To these cradles are hair mattresses, bedding, etc. If offenders have only loose straw, though with a coverlet, they must lie in their clothes, and of necessity be dirty and sickly objects. Therefore proper bedding is necessary. Without this, how can habits of cleanliness be produced and promoted in young creatures? or what disposition can such have for work?

[1] The notion, that convicts are ungovernable, is certainly erroneous. There is a mode of managing some of the most desperate, with ease to yourself, and advantage to them. Many of them are shrewd and sensible: manage them with calmness, yet with steadiness: show them that you have humanity, and that you aim to make them useful members of society: let them see and hear the rules and orders of the prison, and be convinced that they are not defrauded in their provisions or clothes by contractors or gaolers. When they are sick, let them be treated with tenderness. Such conduct would prevent mutiny in prisons, and attempts to escape; which I am fully persuaded are often owing to prisoners being made desperate, by the inhumanity and ill usage of their keepers.

[2] Many young creatures, when their term is expired, are detained in prison, others stripped of a remaining handkerchief, apron, or petticoat, such necessaries have I seen left with the keepers till they could bring their fees.

and in the houses of industry in Suffolk and Norfolk. The courts of justice sat in the prisons in Scotland formerly; and this is still the case in some of the towns. This would be attended with many advantages. Mr. Henry Fielding remarks, that "The sufferings of the poor are indeed less observed than their misdeeds; not from any want of compassion, but because they are less known; and this is the true reason why we so often hear them mentioned with abhorrence, and so seldom with pity."

I have before said, that I am no advocate for luxury in prisons; for I would have no meat diet for criminals in houses of correction, or at most, only on Sundays. Yet I would plead, that they should have a pound and half of good household bread a day, and a quart of good beer: besides twice a day a quart of warm soup made from peas, rice, milk or barley. For a change they might sometimes have turnips, carrots, or potatoes. It may be said, this diet will starve those who work in houses of correction: but I am persuaded of the contrary; by what I have seen abroad, in the galleys, in the houses of correction, and among the most robust labourers. Though I am sensible that persons confined, whose minds are depressed, need more nourishment than such as are at liberty.

I know not any reason why a house of correction may not be conducted with as much regularity, as any other house where the family is equally numerous. Some foreign bridewells are so conducted. Let the sober and diligent be distinguished by some preference in their diet, or lodging; or by shortening the term of their confinement: and giving them, when discharged, a good character. This last will be a strong incitement to good behaviour. The hours of rising, of reading a chapter in the Bible, of prayers, of meals, of work, etc. should all be fixed by the magistrates, and notice of them given by a bell. A chaplain is necessary here in every view. To reform prisoners, or to make them better as to their morals, should always be the leading view in every house of correction, and their earnings should only be a secondary object. As rational and immortal beings we owe this to them; nor can any criminality of theirs justify our neglect in this particular. The last recited author says: "Religion will, I am satisfied, have a strong influence in correcting the morals of men; and I am no less persuaded, that it is religion alone which can effectually accomplish so great and so desirable a work."

Some have supposed that the profit of the work in a house of

correction might support the expense of the house. But however it may appear in speculation, in practice it is always found otherwise. The difference is great between involuntary labour and that which is performed from choice. In the best regulated houses of correction in Holland, taxes are fixed for their support.[1] But though a bridewell cannot support itself, yet under proper regulation, it would contribute in some measure towards its own maintenance. An exact account should be kept of the profit of the work; and all of it applied to common benefit; not left to the disposal of keepers: for some of them, in the few bridewells where work is done, keep to themselves a sixth part, some half, and some the whole of the prisoners' earnings; giving them only the short county allowance, and sometimes but part of that. When I said all the earnings should go to common stock, I meant it of the stated hours for working. Those who will employ themselves in extra hours, should have the profit to themselves. And it would be an encouragement to diligence in the stated hours, to give them some portion of the profit of these also; or employ them in beating hemp, and spinning, and weaving linen for their own use: for clean linen they should have every week. With regular economy, prisoners would be better nourished, and fitter for labour, than they now are; and yet the county not burthened with much, if any, additional expense. But a building fit for the intention they ought to provide.

The charge of this, as well as of a proper gaol, will, no doubt, be complained of. But if that be weighed against the benefit which will accrue to the public, it will be found but light. Besides, that ought not to be allowed as a valid objection, the occasion of which should have been removed long ago. Why have some prisons been suffered to become ruinous, so that many rooms in them are unsafe, and prisoners are crowded together in the few that remain; or, for the smallest offences are loaded with irons to prevent their escape? Why were not the walls of the courts repaired in time, that prisoners might

[1] Mr. Thomas Firmin, a citizen of London in the last century, employed about two thousand poor, by which he lost £200 a year, though good quantities of commodities were taken off by the kindness of several persons at the price they cost him to spin and weave. In particular, the East India and Guinea Companies gave him encouragement to make their allabas cloths, and coarse canvas for pepper bags, which before they bought from foreign countries. "For seven or eight years together he lost twopence in a shilling by all the work of his poor: but he was content; for he would say, twopence given them by loss in their work, was twice so much saved to the public, in that it took them off from beggary, or theft." *Firmin's Life*, pp. 33 and 34.

with safety be allowed the proper use of them? Money, to the amount of thousands, is not withheld when shire halls and town halls are wanted. (These we see grand and elegant edifices.) Why should it be spared when the morals and lives of multitudes are at stake; and when it is impossible the design of the legislature should be answered without it? I mean, amending the manners of petty offenders; preventing the spread of diseases, and the increase of felonies. That the two latter, instead of being prevented, are promoted by the present irregularity of bridewells, is notorious.[1] Prescription founded on culpable negligence should not be admitted in bar of a demand, which every principle of equity, humanity, and utility conspires to enforce.

I could wish, that no persons might suffer capitally but for murder—for setting houses on fire—for house-breaking, attended with acts of cruelty. The highwayman — the footpad — the habitual thief, and people of this clan, should end their days in a penitentiary house,[2] rather than on the gallows. "That many cart-loads of our fellow-creatures are once in six weeks carried to slaughter, is a dreadful consideration; and this is greatly heightened by reflecting, that, with proper care and proper regulations, much the greater part of these wretches might have been made not only happy in themselves, but very useful members of society, which they now so greatly dishonour in the sight of all Christendom." [3]

The management of bridewells is now a matter of more than ordinary concern, since offenders are at present committed to them for terms so long as two or three years. Most of these persons would probably have been sentenced to transportation,[4] when that mode of punishment was more general.

I had taken some pains to make inquiries concerning the state of transports, with regard to whom many cruelties and impositions were commonly practised, and whose condition was in many respects equally contrary to humanity and good policy: I flattered myself that I had discovered means of remedying these evils in a considerable degree, and of disburthening the counties of a heavy expense with which they were charged;

[1] The benevolent Marquis Beccaria closes his thirty-first chapter with this maxim: "The punishment of a crime cannot be just (that is necessary) if the laws have not endeavoured to prevent that crime by the best means which times and circumstances would allow."

[2] See Note D at end of book.

[3] H. Fielding's *Enquiry*, page ult.

[4] See Note E at end of book.

and was preparing to lay them before the public, when a new turn was given to the matter by the late Act of Parliament.[1]

Since this has taken place, I suppress what I had written;[2] and will only give, at the end of my book, a list of the numbers delivered from Newgate for transportation in the course of three years. This will show, in a very alarming light, the danger there may be in future of crowding our prisons, so as to produce the most destructive consequences.

I cannot conclude this section, without attempting to obviate some objections that may occur to the improvements proposed in it. It may be said, that from the many conveniences suggested in the structure of prisons, and the removal of those hardships which rendered them so terrible, the dread of being confined in them will in great measure be taken off, and the lower classes of people will find them more comfortable places of residence than their own houses. But let it be considered in the first place, that although I have indeed recommended such attention in the construction and management as may free them from the diseases and hardships under which they have laboured, I have proposed nothing to give them an air of elegance or pleasantness. On the contrary, I have censured the plan of some modern gaols as too showy and splendid; and nothing abroad struck me more with regard to these buildings, than the perfect plainness and simplicity of their appearance. Then, with respect to the more humane treatment of the prisoners in the articles of food, lodging, and the like, I venture to assert, that if to it be joined such strict regulations in preventing all dissipation and riotous amusement, as I have inculcated, confinement in a prison, though it may cease to be destructive to health and morals, will not fail to be sufficiently irksome and disagreeable, especially to the idle and profligate.

The penitentiary houses directed by a late Act of Parliament, may, under proper management, be made to answer very useful

[1] Sixteenth of George III, cap. xliii. "An act to authorise, for a limited time, the punishment by hard labour of offenders who, for certain crimes, are or shall become liable to be transported to any of his Majesty's colonies and plantations." Mr. Eden has observed that "The numbers of persons for whom some mode of restraint and punishment in lieu of transportation must be provided, may be estimated at one thousand annually." See the preface to his draught of a bill, 1778. If the impolitic mode of transportation be again adopted, the cruelty should not be aggravated by confining convicts a long time before they are sent off.

[2] On the whole, I perfectly concur in opinion with a learned writer, who has asserted that "every effect of banishment, as practised in England, is often beneficial to the criminal, and always injurious to the community." *Principles of Penal Law*, p. 33.

purposes. Much, however, will depend upon their proper regulation. I do not pretend to be qualified for drawing up a perfect system of this difficult business; but in order to assist persons of superior abilities in their researches on this subject, I have added, at the end of the volume, a table of such general heads and particulars as seem to me most deserving of attention.

# SECTION IV

## AN ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN PRISONS

I DESIGNED to publish the account of our prisons in the spring 1775, after I returned from Scotland and Ireland. But conjecturing that something useful to my purpose might be collected abroad; I laid aside my papers, and travelled into France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany. I flattered myself that my labour was not quite fruitless; and repeated my visit to these countries, and went also to Switzerland, in 1776.

In the conclusion of my first edition, I made a promise, if the legislature should seriously engage in the reformation of our prisons, to take a third journey, through the Prussian and Austrian dominions, and the free cities of Germany. This I accomplished in 1778, and likewise extended my tour through Italy, and revisited some of the countries I had before seen in pursuit of my object. These observations were published in a second edition in 1780. But before the publication of another edition, I wished to acquire some further knowledge on the subject. For this purpose in 1781 I again revisited Holland, and some cities in Germany. I visited also the capitals of Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland; and in 1783 some cities in Portugal and Spain, and returned through France, Flanders, and Holland. The substance of all these travels is now thrown into one narrative. I have only to add, that, fully sensible of the imperfection that must attend the cursory survey of a traveller, it was my study to remedy that defect by confining my attention to the one object of my pursuit, during the whole of my journeys abroad.

### HOLLAND

Prisons in the United Provinces are so quiet, and most of them so clean, that a visitor can hardly believe he is in a gaol. They are commonly (except the rasp-houses) whitewashed once or twice a year: and prisoners observed to me how refreshing it was to come into the rooms after they had been so thoroughly

cleaned. A physician and surgeon is appointed to every prison; and prisoners are in general healthy.

In most of the prisons for criminals there are so many rooms that each prisoner is kept separate. They never go out of their rooms: each has a bedstead, straw mat, and coverlet. But there are few criminals, except those in the rasp-houses and spin-houses. Of late, in all the seven provinces, seldom more executions in a year than from four to six. One reason of this, I believe, is the awful solemnity of executions,[1] which are performed in presence of the magistrates, with great order and seriousness, and great effect on the spectators. I did not see the process in Holland; but it was particularly described to me, and was similar to what I had been witness of in another place abroad.

The common method of execution for unpremeditated murder, is decollation by a broadsword. Robberies are generally punished by the halter. For the more atrocious crimes, such as premeditated murder, etc., the malefactor is broken on the wheel; or rather on a cross laid flat upon the scaffold. But a description of the manner of this execution, which is finished by a *coup de grâce* on the breast, would not be agreeable to any of my readers.

Debtors also are but few. The magistrates do not approve of confining in idleness any that may be usefully employed. And when one is imprisoned, the creditor must pay the gaoler for his maintenance, from five and a half to eighteen stivers a day, according to the debtor's former condition in life. The aliment must be paid every week: in default whereof, the gaoler gives eight days' notice; and if within that time, the money, or security for it, be not brought, the debtor is discharged.

Another reason is, that the situation is very disgraceful. But, perhaps, the principal cause that debtors, as well as capital offenders, are few, is the great care that is taken to train up the children of the poor, and indeed of all others, to industry. No debtors have their wives and children living with them in prison: but occasional visits in the daytime are not forbidden. You do not hear in the streets as you pass by a prison, what I have been rallied for abroad, the cry of poor hungry starving debtors.

The States do not transport convicts: but men are put to labour in the rasp-houses, and women to proper work in the spin-houses: upon this professed maxim, Make them diligent,

[1] See Note F at end of book.

and they will be honest. The rasping logwood, which was formerly the principal work done by the male convicts, is now in many places performed at the mills, much cheaper: and the Dutch, finding woollen manufactures more profitable, have lately set up several of them in those houses of correction. In some, the work of the robust prisoners does not only support them; but they have a little extra time to earn somewhat for their better living in prison, or for their benefit afterwards.

Great care is taken to give them moral and religious instruction, and reform their manners, for their own and the public good. The chaplain (such there is in every house of correction) does not only perform public worship, but privately instructs the prisoners, catechises them every week, etc., and I am well informed that many come out sober and honest.[1] Some have even chosen to continue and work in the house after their discharge.

Offenders are sentenced to these houses, according to their crimes, for seven, ten, fifteen, twenty, and even to ninety-nine years: but, to prevent despair, seldom for life. As an encouragement to sobriety and industry, those who distinguish themselves by such behaviour, are discharged before the expiration of their term. And the prisoner who gives information of an intended escape is greatly favoured in this respect: his term is shortened, and sometimes he gains his liberty. A little before the election of new magistrates, those who are in office inspect these prisons; and inquire of the keeper which prisoners, of those who have been confined a few years, have been diligent and orderly; and of the minister, which of them have been most attentive to public and private instructions. According to the accounts, they abridge the appointed time of punishment: so that fourteen years will sometimes be reduced to eight or ten; and twelve years to six or seven. This practice is in every view wise and beneficial. Indeed, I have some reason to think that criminals are often doomed to a longer term, with an intention to make such deductions upon their amendment.

I was informed that the produce of the work does not maintain these houses: though the men that are robust earn from eight to ten stivers a day; and healthy women by spinning, etc., from

[1] I have heard in England that a countryman of ours, who was a prisoner in the rasp-house at Amsterdam several years, was permitted to work at his own trade, shoemaking; and by being constantly kept employed, was quite cured of the vices that were the cause of his confinement. My informant added, that the prisoner received at his release a surplus of his earnings, which enabled him to set up his trade in London; where he lived in credit; and at dinner commonly drank "Health to his worthy masters at the rasp-house."

four to six. But some earn less; and those that are infirm, very little: none however are quite idle, unless sick. This is surely excellent policy; for besides guarding against the pernicious effects of idleness in a prison, and breaking criminals to habits of industry, if work so constant does not support the houses, how much heavier would be the public burden, maintaining the numerous offenders in these prisons, if, as in many of our bridewells, no work at all were done there?

In Holland, as well as in Germany, there are private rooms in most of the houses of correction, in which young persons of a vicious and profligate turn are confined on the representation of their parents, till they show signs of amendment.

ROTTERDAM. At Rotterdam, in the Stadt-house prison, there were no debtors in either of the three rooms at any of my former visits, but in 1781 there was one debtor. When there are any, they are alimented at one fixed sum, viz., sixteen stivers a day.[1] There are seven vaulted rooms for criminals or disorderly persons about seventeen feet by ten. One of them is called the condemned room, into which a criminal is put fourteen days before his final sentence; and immediately after the sentence, he is executed with a solemnity very striking to the common people. In three of the rooms, were three persons confined for a limited time for some small offences, and kept to bread and water. Their daily allowance was from four to five stivers, and their pitcher was filled with water three times a day; but the other criminals had their pitcher filled once a day with beer, and their allowance was from nine to ten stivers. There were cases with thick straw mats, and two or three coverlets to each. At my last visit there were four criminals.

In the rasp-house (or spin-house, as it should be called), at one of my former visits there were thirty-eight men, and in 1781, twenty-eight men and forty women. Two men were rasping logwood, others, combing, spinning, and carding wool, and (a few) making fishing nets, and sorting coffee-berries. The women were spinning wool and flax, and carding hair, or winding at a great wheel like those which at Derby are turned by water. They were clean, and appeared healthy and well. I observed the ceiling was very white; and one of the regents informed me, that the room was whitewashed regularly twice a year.

The men were more separated than the women into rooms

[1] A guinea 252d. = 11 guilders 11 stivers = 231 stivers (for 20 stivers is a guilder) therefore stivers are to pence as $\frac{231}{252} = \frac{11}{12}$: i.e. 11 stivers is equal to a shilling.

(about seventeen feet long, eleven feet broad, and ten high), each of which contained only four or five prisoners. These rooms were very offensive, the persons confined in them being taken out only once in the week. For preventing combinations, two of the men are removed every ten or fourteen days, to different companies. There were among them some Jews, whose dinner was not pork as was that of the other prisoners, but mutton, which the society of Jews in the city sent them with a slice of white bread, by permission of one of the five regents or inspectors.[1]

For the refractory there are dark rooms, but not dungeons: in one of these, on shutting the door on myself, I found no dampness. My conductor observed, that the floor was raised to preserve it dry. Here they are allowed no bedding, and are kept to bread and water, which is given them at an aperture in the door. Their confinement is for six, eight, ten, or fourteen days.

At the whipping-post (which is in the middle of the court, in full view of the male criminals) some of our dexterous countrymen in 1781, were disciplined, for melting their pewter spoons and forming them into keys. The pewter was hardened with a mixture procured from an apothecary, under the pretence of its being a remedy for the toothache. But the scheme was defeated by an English Jew, who for this service obtained his liberty, though he had been committed for thirty years.

The regents have a room in which they assemble once a fortnight. Their ladies assemble in another room to give directions concerning the work, linen, provisions, etc. They also attend by rotation at dinner, and other times; and their accounts are carried to the regents.[2]

The keeper has a salary from the city, of four hundred florins or guilders per annum,[3] and also a house, victuals and drink, firing and candle, and one-seventh part of the produce of all the labour of the prisoners; so that it is his interest to see that the work be well performed: yet as the quantum is fixed by the regents, it is not in his power to be a cruel taskmaster. The

[1] As I was there at one o'clock, the time of the distribution, I observed that the bread was all cut in slices: this prevents those contests or frauds which sometimes happen where prisoners mess together, and the bread is given out in one loaf; as I saw on board the hulks in the Thames, where one loaf was given to six persons.

[2] A principal reason of the cleanliness and order in workhouses in Holland, is the attention and humanity of the governesses: for each house has four who take the charge of inspection, and have their names painted in their room.

[3] About £36.

manner of dieting the prisoners seemed to me worthy of being inserted at length.[1]

[1] Regulation for the daily diet, at the rasp-house at Rotterdam.

*Sunday dinner.* Each man has a mess of boiled grout, with butter or kitchen-stuff; a piece of cheese or butter, with a quarter of a pound of rye bread. Each boy, woman, or such as only work half-task, a mess of grout, as above; a piece of cheese or butter, with one-sixth of a pound of rye bread.

*Sunday supper.* Each man a bowl of new milk boiled with barley or flour, with a piece of cheese, and one-fourth of a pound of rye bread. Each boy, woman, or such as only do half-task, the bowl of sweet milk as above, but no bread or cheese.

*Monday breakfast.* Each man half a pound of rye bread with cheese or butter. Each boy, woman, or half-tasked, one-fourth of a pound of rye bread with butter or cheese.

N.B. Breakfast through the week, is the same as above.

*Monday dinner.* Each man half a pound of meat, or one-sixth of a pound of pork without bone; half a pound of rye bread, with a bowl of boiled carrots, cabbage or greens. Each boy, woman, or half-tasked, one-third of a pound of meat, or one-eighth of a pound of pork without bone, three-eighths of a pound of rye bread, with a bowl of boiled carrots, cabbage or greens.

*Tuesday dinner.* For all, boiled grey peas, with one-fourth of a pound of rye bread; the men have, besides, each a piece of cheese.

*Wednesday dinner.* Each man a bowl of peas porridge, with three-eighths of a pound of rye bread and a piece of cheese. Each boy, woman, or half-tasked, a bowl of peas porridge, one-fourth of a pound of rye bread with a piece of cheese.

*Thursday dinner.* Each man, one-third of a pound of meat, or one-eighth of a pound of pork without bone; two slices of rye bread, weighing together half a pound, with a bowl of barley broth. Boys, or men who only do half-task, one-fourth of a pound of meat, or one-twelfth of a pound of pork without bone; two slices of rye bread, weighing together three-eighths of a pound, with each a bowl of barley broth. The women, no meat or pork; each a bowl of barley broth, with three-eighths of a pound of rye bread with butter or cheese.

*Friday dinner.* Each man a bowl of kidney-bean porridge; three-eighths of a pound of rye bread with cheese. Each boy, woman, or half-tasked, the mess of kidney-bean porridge; one-fourth of a pound of rye bread with cheese.

*Saturday dinner.* Each man a bowl of boiled peas, with butter and vinegar sauce; boys, women, and half-tasked, have the same allowance and *all* have the same allowance of rye bread and cheese as on the Fridays.

The constant supper, on week-days, for all, is buttermilk boiled with barley or grout till thick enough to be eaten without bread; to this, each man has one-fourth of a pound of rye bread with cheese; the boys, women, and half-tasked, have only a mess of the buttermilk, but no bread or cheese.

| | CANS |
|---|---|
| Each man has, during the three summer months, daily, of beer, . | 2½ |
| And during the three winter months . . . . . | 1½ |
| And during the remaining six months . . . . . | 2 |
| Boys, women, and half-tasked, for the three summer months, each, daily . . . . . | 1½ |
| And for the remaining nine months . . . . . | 1 |

In the foregoing regulation for diet, no alteration is to be made, unless when fish shall be extraordinarily cheap and plentiful, all the prisoners may be indulged with one meal, provided with the consent of a majority of the regents.

Being at Rotterdam on a Sunday, I was desirous of seeing, whether there was such dissipation in their prisons, as there is in ours, on that day. The public service at the rasp-house began at half after one o'clock. The audience consisted of about thirty or forty inhabitants of the town, Mr. Schumacher the presiding regent, the head-keeper and his family, and three under-keepers, besides the prisoners. The number of women prisoners was about forty, who were separated from the rest of the congregation by a wooden palisade, and seated on benches raised one above another. They were all clean and neat; had nothing distinguishing in their dress, but were without hats. While they stood up during prayer, they held up their aprons to cover their faces. The men were neat, dressed in brown coats, had been shaved, had clean shirts (which were most of them checked), clean stockings, and wore handkerchiefs about their necks. They also were seated on raised benches, in a room out of the chapel, and separated from it by an iron grate from the top of the room to the bottom, so wide that all the audience, except the female prisoners, had them full in view. The keeper's seat adjoins to this grate, and two of his servants, who are turnkeys, sat observing their behaviour.

The chaplain, after a short prayer, preached extempore; then, the men convicts joined in singing, most of them having books. When the chaplain had prayed again, he catechised for about three-quarters of an hour. It being the women's turn that Sunday, six of them stood up, one after another, and made the responses, which the chaplain explained to them. After this he prayed, and the service concluded by singing the fifty-first Psalm. The decent behaviour and attention of the audience, evidently proved that the service, though of two hours and a half, was not tedious or disagreeable.

During the time of catechising, the head-keeper and one of his servants went out, to inspect the empty wards, and to search whether any tools or instruments were concealed. The keeper returned to his seat in an hour. At the end of the service, the women passed by the regent's seat;[1] and when they were gone, he went into the court to see the men go to their several wards, four or five together, that number only being let out at a time.[2] After they were all locked up, he went to each window, and conversed with them. Many of them returned their thanks

[1] The seat is large enough for all the five regents or inspectors: but only one is obliged to attend, and this they do by rotation.

[2] They were not chained, for no irons are here used.

for the abridgment of their term of confinement, as this was just before the time for electing new magistrates. One or two who had been at sea, entreated to go in any capacity to India, as is sometimes permitted. He afterwards went to the lattice of the women's ward, and conversed with them; and gave the catechumens some token of his approbation.

I cannot forbear closing this account, without mentioning the ardent wishes it inspired in me, that our prisons also, instead of echoing with profaneness and blasphemy, might hereafter resound with the offices of religious worship; and prove, like these, the happy means of awakening many to a sense of their duty to God and man.[1]

In 1781 I visited the few English prisoners of war in Holland, who were confined in the Admiralty at Rotterdam. A room was assigned for the officers, in which there were only two. In another room (twenty-one feet by eighteen and fifteen feet high) there were eleven sailors, who appeared healthy and well. Several had died a little time before, which, I apprehend, was in part owing to their being confined in a small room called the hospital, which was dirty, without a chimney, and its sides were wood. Their allowance was eight stivers a day, a bed and coverlet, and on most days they walked some hours in the court.

MIDDLEBURG. The rooms in the prison at Middleburg are spacious, lofty and clean. The three dungeons are used to force a confession; as there is no direct torture,[2] and the criminal is not executed till the crime is confessed. The allowance to a criminal is eight stivers a day.

In the house of correction the prisoners were employed in weaving cloth or sacking for the East India Company. This is more profitable than their late employment on coarse carpeting. None were in irons. No more than four persons were in any of the men's rooms; in some there were but two. Each criminal pays three guilders at his entrance, and the same at his discharge.

AMSTERDAM. At Amsterdam the prison is in the Stadt-house. Debtors and felons quite separate. No court. Visitants may converse with debtors at the lattices of their rooms, from nine to twelve in the forenoon. The debtor may buy an anchor of wine

[1] On conversing with a sensible magistrate, his words were "I have known persons who have come out of our houses of correction thoroughly reformed, and have thanked God for their confinement."

[2] Torture was in common use throughout Europe at this time, but Beccaria's *Crimes and Punishments* has dealt it its death blow.—[ED.]

to deposit with the keeper (who sells liquors): he is allowed to call for a bottle of it a day, paying the keeper two stivers a bottle. The city allows each debtor one quart of beer daily, and turf for firing.

By conversing with the debtors, I found that they were all alimented alike, the first fourteen days at eleven stivers or a shilling a day; after that time at five stivers and a half. But this is paid to the gaoler, who has great profit out of it, as appeared from the daily allowance, which I weighed several times. Their two rooms are thoroughly cleaned and white-washed twice a year.

In this city they compute 250,000 souls, about one-third of those in London: yet in 1775, I found but eighteen debtors; in 1776, only fifteen; in 1778, eighteen; in June 1781 sixteen, and in November, seventeen; and in June 1783, seventeen.

The walls of this prison are stone twenty-two inches thick; most of the rooms ten feet by nine and a half; each for one prisoner only; a bedstead, etc. The doorway twenty-two inches wide; door three inches and a half thick, and plated with iron: the condemned rooms have an iron door besides. There are on the ground floor two rooms for debtors, and twelve or thirteen for criminals, which open into passages seven feet wide; and below ground there are eight rooms more for criminals. The windows are double barred, and open into a passage in which there is a strong door between every two cells. In the condemned rooms a criminal is never left alone: two prisoners from the rasp-house are always with him to prevent his destroying himself. They rejoice at the service; for if they discharge it faithfully, their reward is an abridgment of their allotted term. The execution is generally performed within forty-eight hours after sentence. From a book containing the names and crimes of all who have been executed at Amsterdam, from January 1693 to the end of 1766, the following state of executions at different periods is drawn.

From 1693 to 1735 (43 years) 288
1736 to 1745 (10 years) 20
1746 to 1766 (21 years) 28

And I have been well informed, that in the eight years preceding my visit in 1783, only five criminals were executed; two of them were beheaded, one broken on the wheel, and two hanged.

The instruments of torture are still in the magistrates' room, I hope only *in terrorem*, for the laws in general are not

sanguinary, and justice is executed, though with a steady, yet with a lenient hand.

The children of the malefactors who are executed, and of those who are committed for a long term, to the rasp- or spin-house, are sent to the orphan-house, and there brought up in industry, and not left destitute vagabonds to become unhappy victims to the wickedness and folly of their parents.

At the rasp-house over the gate, there is in bas relief, a device of a man driving a wagon loaded with logwood, drawn by lions, wild boars, and tigers, with this inscription:

Virtutis est domare
Quæ cuncti pavent.

Over this device, there is a representation of two men in chains, with a woman near them, holding the arms of Amsterdam in her left hand, and a whip in her right, and over her head the word "Castigatio." At the inner gate is (as at other rasp-houses) a representation of two men rasping logwood: which is here their principal employment. Yet regard is had, not only to their degree of guilt, but to their strength: for I saw two men winding silk. In summer 1776 there were fifty-four prisoners. In some rooms, where they also sleep, there were ten or twelve men rasping an appointed task. Others were in the warehouses, sorting and weighing; others bringing the wood to those rooms. Hours of work from six to twelve, and from one to four. In extra hours they make tobacco-boxes, etc., which they sell to visitants, who pay two stivers to go in.

The four regents who manage the rasp-house are appointed by the burgomasters, to whom they are accountable.[1] The gaoler or father is strictly obliged to obey all the orders of the high-bailiff, the burgomasters, and also of the regents. In no case may he, or any of his family, receive a gift from the prisoners or their friends, either before or after their enlargement. He must not entrust a servant with the keys, but must himself carefully search the convicts and their cots, or rooms, before he locks them up in the evening; at six o'clock in summer, and at four in winter. The father must never be absent a night, without special permission. He is severely punished if any prisoner escapes. He must register in order all acts concerning commitments and discharges, and produce

[1] It may be proper to mention, that these regents have no salaries, but only some privileges and honorary distinctions; as exemption from the city watch; liberty of free entrance after one of the city gates is shut; and a deacon's seat in the church.

them to the regents when required. Also he must keep an exact register of the clothes, and all other things which belong to those confined.

The regents assemble in the house at four o'clock every Wednesday afternoon, to collect and examine the transactions of the preceding week. They appoint a servant to give any necessary assistance to the father, to cut the slices of bread for the prisoners; and when the father is ill, in the evening to visit and examine the cots.

In the nine lower rooms of this house, in June 1778, were confined upwards of forty prisoners; in June 1781, fifty-five; in November, sixty-five; June 6, 1783, fifty-one. One of these was incapable of working, his limbs having been dislocated by torture. Each of these rooms, in which they work in the day and are locked up at night, contains at least four persons. The same prisoners do not continue long together, but are removed and separated once a fortnight or oftener. Few or none of them were rasping logwood, but most of them chopping it for the two mills belonging to the house: as it was found to be too laborious for most of the prisoners, to work with six or eight saws, which often weigh seventy or eighty pounds. The medical gentlemen, who daily visit the prison, informed the magistrates that it had been the cause of frequent ruptures.

No friends of the prisoners are permitted to visit them, without express orders from the regents, unless on Mondays: and then they must be searched, to prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors, or instruments for breaking out, or anything else forbidden: and they must retire before the time for shutting up. Every visitant is obliged to put two stivers into a box entrusted with the father. Refreshments may be received and given to the convicts on Tuesdays; but not on other days. Every evening, at eight o'clock, the father must see that all things are in due order. The saws, and other heavy implements for their work are taken from them in the evening, and returned in the morning. If a convict be guilty of breaking anything considerable, of burning the logwood, or of neglect or disobedience, he is punished severely by whipping, or confined to bread and water in a dungeon underground. On careful inquiry, I learned, that what has been said concerning a cellar in which such transgressors are put to pump or drown, is a fiction.

Prayers are read morning and evening, and before and after meals, by one of the best-behaved convicts: and divine service,

with a sermon, is performed in the chapel by a clergyman on Sunday mornings.

Once a year, a little before the change of the regency, the high-bailiff and magistrates, with a secretary, attended by the inferior officers of justice, come to this prison, in order to contract or lengthen the terms of confinement of the convicts, according to their good or bad behaviour, as represented by the regents.

The house provides for the prisoners, diet,[1] clothes, shoes and stockings, with shirts of half-bleached Flemish linen. Here is no infirmary: their labour keeps them in health: the physician, with whom I went the round at my last visit, had only two patients, and those with very slight disorders.

Some persons are confined in private rooms, to which none have access, unless in the presence of a regent. Great care is enjoined the father in conveying provisions to those prisoners. With the regent's leave, on Sunday mornings, some chapters of the Bible are read to them.[2]

The spin-house was for women. This, and the workhouse, were under the direction of six regents and four governesses;

[1] The diet of the convicts in the rasp-house at Amsterdam.

*Sunday breakfast.* Three slices of rye bread with butter, and a piece of dry bread six slices thick.

(N.B. Three slices weigh half a pound.)

*Sunday dinner or noon.* Half a pound of beef or pork, with beans, salt and vinegar, and in winter full two pounds of salt meat.

*Monday breakfast.* Six slices with butter, and a piece of bread of three slices thick.

*Monday dinner.* Grey peas with salt and vinegar.

*Tuesday breakfast.* As on Monday.

*Tuesday dinner.* White or grey peas boiled in water with salt and sage.

*Wednesday breakfast.* As on Monday.

*Wednesday dinner.* Boiled oats or barley with sweet milk and butter upon it.

*Wednesday supper.* Buttermilk, with oats or barley boiled in it.

*Thursday breakfast.* Six slices of rye bread with butter, and a piece of bread as on Sunday morning.

*Thursday dinner.* Stockfish, with sweet milk and butter upon it.

*Friday.* As Tuesday.

*Saturday breakfast.* As Tuesday.

*Saturday dinner.* As Wednesday supper.

Their drink is four pints of beer daily. But on holidays, viz., two days at Easter, Ascension-day, two at Whitsuntide, three at the fair time, and two at Christmas, they have for dinner, smoked or salt meat or bacon, beans or peas, carrots or cabbage, and the three fair days they have strong beer.

[2] There are many of these rooms, or houses of confinement in Holland, called Verbeterhuizen. The regulations of some of them I collected; but as they are liable to abuse, and contrary to the general notions of public justice, I cannot but wish that they were universally suppressed.

who appointed two fathers and two mothers to superintend and inspect the work, the diet, and the lodging of the prisoners; and to chastise the disobedient.

The workroom was a large room upstairs, separated by a wooden balustrade from the passage (six feet wide) into which spectators were admitted. This room was divided by balustrades into two, for distinguishing those who had suffered some public or corporal punishment, from others who had not been whipped, and exposed on a scaffold. The mother was seated at a desk (where she had a full view of her family at work) with a Bible before her. As I stayed longer than a common visitant, one of the prisoners went up to the mistress with the timid modesty of a suppliant, and asked leave to offer me the plate. The leave was granted. The mistress kept what was given, till it amounted to a sum sufficient to purchase a little tea or coffee, for all to partake.

The kitchen, the dining- and lodging-rooms, were on the ground-floor. In each of the three bedrooms were ten wooden cases, with a straw mattress, two coverlets, sheets, and one large pillow, for two persons. All were clean, and showed the attention of the regents.

In this house you might see a number of criminals (in 1776 there were thirty-two; in 1778, forty-six; in June 1781, thirty-two, and in November, forty), some of whom had been the most abandoned, sitting in presence of the mother, quiet and orderly at their different sorts of work; spinning, plain work, etc. Of the latter sort much was sent in from the city. They had the same holidays as at the rasp-house. Hours of work from six to twelve, and from one to eight. I saw them go from work to dinner:[1] the keeper, or father as they called him, presided. First they sang a psalm: then they went in order down to a neat dining-room; where they seated themselves at two tables; and several dishes of boiled barley, agreeably sweetened, were set before them. The father struck with a hammer: then in profound silence all stood up; and one of them read with propriety a prayer about four or five minutes.

[1] The diet of the prisoners was as follows:
*Sunday*. Dinner: Cut-cabbage with meat. Supper: Buttermilk.
*Monday*. Dinner: White beans. Supper: Sweet milk with barley.
*Tuesday*. Dinner: Beans. Supper: Buttermilk.
*Wednesday*. Dinner: Grey peas. Supper: Buttermilk.
*Thursday*. Dinner: Barley. Supper: Bread and beer.
*Friday*. Dinner: White beans. Supper: Buttermilk.
*Saturday*. Dinner: Beans. Supper: Buttermilk.

Then they sat down cheerful; and each filled her bowl, from a large dish which contained enough for four of them. Then one brought on a waiter slices of bread and butter, and served each prisoner.

This house was supported by a small annual tax on those who sell tobacco, beer, and other liquors, and one-fourth part of what was received at public exhibitions and diversions.

At my visit in June 1783, the prisoners were all removed into the new workhouse.

Here (as at some other towns in Holland) was a prison or workhouse for slighter offences. This was called the old rasp-house, and was worthy of observation, as a well regulated house of industry. Here were confined beggars and vagabonds, who for the first time were committed for six weeks, and for the second three months; but for the third their punishment was either a longer period of confinement or banishment. Drunkards also were here confined, and such as were guilty of petty larceny. In a large room at one of my visits I saw forty-six women carding, spinning, and reeling; twelve weaving coarse linen or sail-cloth; thirteen making and mending linen; one employed in keeping the room clean; and the mother holding a slate, on which were inscribed the names of the prisoners.[1] Some men and boys were in another large room, in which there were many looms. But most of the men were at work in the courts, boiling and picking oakum for calking the seams of ships. Among these men I counted forty or fifty women; and in 1781, there were twenty-five men and one hundred and twenty women all employed in the same manner;[2] except five or six who were mending the linen of the house.

The women's bedroom was spacious; and I found it clean and in order, though I was there before ten o'clock in the forenoon.

This house was provided with (what seems to be much wanted in the Dutch prisons) an infirmary: but it was too small and close for the purpose.

The diet of the prisoners was the same as in the spin-house.[3]

[1] Three fathers and three mothers were appointed to superintend this house. One father had the direction of the house-keeping, and the other two overlooked the manufactory. One mother managed the kitchen; and the office of the others was to keep the prisoners cleanly, and to take care of their bedding.

[2] The prisoners at the new workhouse have the same employment: here is a quick sale for oakum; for the Admiralty and India Company find the old cords, and take the oakum when fit for use.

[3] Though in the houses of correction in Holland, the prisoners have meat only on Sundays, yet the peas, beans, barley, etc., are always made into a kind of thick soup or pottage, which is very palatable, and is served up hot at noon.

Their provisions were bought in considerable quantities. The rye for bread was on the floor in an airy room, and was sweet and good. The produce of the prisoners' work was applied to the maintenance of the house, and the deficiency was made up from the spin-house tax. The expense for each prisoner was full five stivers a day. Their number was generally from a hundred and fifty, to two hundred. These prisoners are removed into the new workhouse or house of correction, which at my visit in June 1783, was finished. There were four hundred prisoners.

In the prison at Leeuwarden several were confined for petty offences; but there has been no execution for fourteen years past.

For the refractory, here are two closets, the bottoms and sides of which are pieces of wood placed edgeways, where being confined without shoes, they must be in a painful situation.

In the prison for the military at Groningen there were two prisoners. The gallows joins to the prison.

There is also here a prison for the province. On the gallows, which is placed on elevated ground at a distance from the town, a criminal was hanging (November 1781) who had been executed the year before. In this country malefactors are often thus left to hang after execution, till they drop into a well (or deep pit) underneath, which is designed for the reception of their bones.

In the prison at Zwolle in Overyssel there were no felons, nor has there been an execution there for many years.

The house of correction (Tucht-huys) erected in 1735, is a neat building situated on the ramparts. In November 1781 there were in it seventeen men and twenty-six women. The women were on the first floor in two separate workrooms, spinning and knitting. Nine of them who had been branded were working in a room by themselves; and they had also a separate lodging-room.

At Utrecht, in 1776, I went over the spin-house, the women were separated, according to their crimes. In October 1781, there were fifty men and twenty-six women. Nine women who had been publicly whipped, had a workroom and bedroom separate from the rest.

The overseer or keeper has a house for the residence of himself and his family, and an annual salary of a thousand guilders from the States, and a hundred and thirty from the city, clear of all deductions. By a particular permission from the magis-

trates, he may take in as boarders, persons of bad behaviour, at the desire of their parents, guardians or relations.

I leave this country with regret, as it affords a large field for information on the important subject I have in view. I know not which to admire most, the neatness and cleanliness appearing in the prisons, the industry and regular conduct of the prisoners, or the humanity and attention of the magistrates and regents.

## GERMANY

The Germans, well aware of the necessity of cleanliness in prisons, have very judiciously chosen to build them in situations most conducive to it; that is, near rivers: as at Hanover, Zell, Hamburg, Berlin, Bremen, Cologne, Mentz, and many other places.

In the gaols that I first saw, there were but few prisoners, except those called, improperly, galley-slaves. One cause of this, is a speedy trial after commitment.

The galley-slaves have everywhere a prison to themselves. They work on the roads, the fortifications, chalk-hills, and other public service; for four, seven, ten, fifteen, twenty years, according to their crimes: and are clothed, as well as fed, by the government. At Wesel, which belongs to the King of Prussia, there were ninety-eight of these slaves: they have two pounds of bread a day, and the value of three halfpence every day they work.

I saw but a very few underground dungeons in any new prisons abroad; in Germany none, except at Liege. At Lunenburg the dungeons are disused: and instead of them are built additional rooms upstairs; one for each prisoner. And in many of the gaols each criminal is alone in his room; which is more or less strong, lightsome, and airy, as the crime he is charged with is more or less atrocious.

One often sees the doors of sundry rooms marked Ethiopia, India, Italy, France, England, etc. In those rooms, parents, by the authority of the magistrates, confine for a certain term dissolute children: and if they are inquired after, the answer is, they are gone to Italy, England, etc.

I do not remember any prison in Germany (nor elsewhere abroad) in which felons have not, either from the public allowance, or from charities, somewhat more to live on than bread

and water. In some places a person goes on market-days with a basket for prisoners: and I have seen him bring them a comfortable meal of fresh vegetables. But there are separate prisons, in which confinement for a week or two on bread and water is all the punishment for some petty offences. Perhaps, when a condemned criminal is only to live a day or two, such diet may be more proper than the indulgence with which the Germans, and other foreigners treat prisoners after sentence of death, which is commonly executed within forty-eight hours. The malefactor has then his choice of food, and wine, in a commodious room, into which his friends are admitted; and a minister attends him during almost all his remaining hours.

I went into Germany in June 1778, by Osnabrug and Hanover. The prison at Osnabrug I should entirely omit, did I not entertain a hope, that the account of it may possibly engage the notice of an amiable prince who is the present bishop, and so be the means of alleviating the sufferings of the miserable prisoners. The prison and the house of correction is one large building, situated in an airy part of the suburbs, near a brook. A Latin inscription over the gate implies, that it was erected "at the public expense, in 1756, for the purposes of public justice and utility, by confining and punishing the wicked." There are seventeen chambers for criminals, which have no light but by a small aperture over each door. I was happy to find here no more than one prisoner. He had been confined three years, and had survived the cruelty of the torture.[1] In another part of the house I found many miserable and sickly objects, men, women, and children, almost all without shoes and stockings. They were spinning in different rooms, which were dirty beyond description. These rooms open into an offensive passage, which a gentleman in office in the city, to whom I was recommended, durst not enter. I inquired of the keeper concerning several particulars in the diet, etc., but the misery expressed in the countenances of the prisoners, made me totally disregard the information given me by words.

BREMEN. The gaol is a tower at one of the gates. In the lower part there are four strong rooms (or cells) about thirteen feet four inches by six feet eight, and six feet high. The doors are four feet ten inches high and five inches thick, with iron plates between the boards. The windows are only small

[1] The mode of torture here is more excruciating than in most other countries, and is known by the name of the Osnabrug turture. I doubt not but the humanity and good sense of his Royal Highness will abolish it when he comes of age.

apertures (fourteen inches by nine). I found a prisoner in the same cell in which I had seen him five years before. He had made his escape, but had been retaken. There has been no execution in this city for twenty-six years.

In another prison down ten steps from the street, there are six rooms for criminals without windows. One was six feet nine inches by four feet and a half, and seven feet high: another was ten feet by five and a half, and six feet high. The allowance is six sous (3½d.) a day, but there were no prisoners. In this dismal abode, one had lately beaten himself to death against the wall, which was stained with his blood.

I sat an afternoon with Dr. Duntze of Bremen, who told me he was in London in 1753 and 54, with an inquisitive friend, a German. They went into Newgate to observe the effects of the ventilator; and were struck with an offensive smell in one of the rooms. Next day they were both indisposed. The doctor's complaint turned out a kind of jaundice. After a few days' confinement he visited his friend, and found him excessively low; and in a short time he died with every symptom of the gaol-fever.

HANOVER. The prison at Hanover was built about thirty years ago on the banks of the river Leyna; and consists of twenty-six rooms for confinement. The lower rooms have double doors, with large apertures over them guarded by double iron bars. These openings being opposite to the windows afford the prisoners the only fresh air they are allowed. Their beds are solid stone, a little elevated above the floor, and higher at the head than the feet, with straw on them and two coverlets. In winter the rooms are warmed by stoves, but being too near the water, and lower than the street, they must be unhealthy, and this appears from the countenances of the prisoners. The upper rooms are larger apartments for debtors, etc. When I visited this prison in 1776, I found in it one debtor and seven criminals; in 1778, two debtors and three criminals; and in October 1781, there were twenty-nine prisoners, many of whom had been confined a year, and others six months, without being brought to trial. Seven or eight of them were women, some of whom had been committed with their husbands, but lodged in different rooms. The allowance to all is the same, two marien grosche (or 2½d.) per day. Seven of the lower rooms are for the more atrocious criminals. At my last visit I found seven prisoners (one in each room) secured by chains on their feet fastened to the walls, and irons on their wrists with a bar between, two feet long.

The keeper is allowed a salary, and sells no liquor. He is old and infirm, and the prison grows evidently dirtier as he grows older. A guard of six soldiers and an officer is stationed here day and night, who are relieved every morning at eight, and do duty alternately by taking two hours trust and four repose, so that each soldier is on guard eight out of the twenty-four hours. The various edicts for regulating this prison are put into frames, and hung in the council chamber.

The execrable practice of torturing prisoners is here used, in a cellar where the horrid engine is kept. The time for it is, as in other countries, about two o'clock in the morning. A criminal suffered the Osnabrug torture twice about two years ago; the last time, at putting to him the third question (the executioner having torn off the hair from his head, breast, etc.) he confessed, and was executed. On such occasions a counsellor and secretary attend, with a doctor and surgeon, an Osnabrug executioner and sometimes the gaoler. If the criminal faints, strong salts are here applied to him, and not vinegar as in some other places.

The house of correction is a new building in an airy situation, appropriated to vagrants, children, and petty offenders. Here were ninety-four prisoners, fifty-eight of whom were children, clothed in a neat uniform of blue and white linsey-woolsey made in the house. The girls were all spinning cotton and linen. The boys, in some rooms, were carding, and spinning wool and linen, and making list shoes and carpets. In one room there were six boys (the eldest only twelve years of age) working at so many small looms for saddle girths and clothes. In two other rooms there was a number of women employed in spinning. There are also two small rooms for harder work, such as rasping logwood and hartshorn. The coverlets of all the beds had been made in the house. Besides their own clothes, etc., the prisoners here make girths, slippers, and list carpets for sale, specimens of which I brought with me. The orders for regulating the hours of work, learning, recreation, etc., were hung up in the schoolroom. Both old and young were neat and clean; and everything in the house appeared quiet and orderly.

This institution, of only two years' standing, does great honour to the founder and director, Mr. Burgomaster Alemann, and is the best monument that can ever be erected for him. A good choice has been made of proper persons to preside, and inspect; which is a circumstance of the greatest importance in such houses.

Brunswick. The workhouse, or house of correction, stands near the river that runs through the city. In October 1781, there were here about seventy prisoners, who are always locked up. On the first and second floors the men and women sleep in boxes in the passages. In the workrooms (it being Sunday) I was much surprised to find them all (except some lunatics in chains) employed in carding and spinning. This accounted for the keeper's preventing me from seeing them at chapel, by saying no person was admitted. I was however admitted after the service, and concluded from the sand on the floor at the prisoners' benches, that few or none had attended. My conductor insisted on carrying a pan of charcoal through the rooms; but his fumigation could not overcome the offensiveness of this dirty house.

Harburg. At Harburg there were thirteen slaves working on the fortifications, with irons on one leg, and chains supported by girdles round their waists. Their allowance is three halfpenny worth of ammunition bread, and five farthings a day. They are guarded by soldiers, who have orders to fire on them if they attempt to escape. But, notwithstanding this, when the Elbe was frozen over (1780) five escaped to Hamburg.

Hamburg. In the great and opulent city of Hamburg in 1776, I visited all the prisons with every advantage, through the kindness of my friend, Senator Voght. In the Büttuley the felons were all in irons. The common method of execution is decollation. The executioner (who is gaoler) showed me the sword kept for this purpose, telling me he had made use of it eight times. Here is no courtyard, and only one day-room on the ground floor. Above stairs, there are six or eight strong rooms about ten feet square. Allowance for each prisoner is four marks a week (a mark 1s. 3d.). Divine service is constantly performed on Sundays and Thursdays. In 1781, there were only two criminals and one debtor. I saw them at chapel, and they seemed very attentive and much affected. The prison was clean: but I perceived by the countenance of the gaoler and his unwillingness to show me again the torture-room, that he had seen my publication. For among the various engines of torture, or the question, which I have seen in France, Italy, Germany, and other places, one of the most excruciating is kept and used in a deep cellar of this prison. It ought to be buried ten thousand fathoms deeper.[1] It is said the inventor

[1] See the Marquis Beccaria, chap. xvi, *Of Torture*.

was the first who suffered by it: the last was a woman, a few years ago.

The Werk- und Tucht-haus is a workhouse situated near the Alster, and designed for the reception of the poor—beggars—and petty offenders. Confinement in it is not reckoned infamous. The rooms are fifteen feet wide, and have opposite windows. The inhabitants were knitting and spinning; weaving stockings, linen, hair, and wool—and rasping logwood and hartshorn (the task of logwood to a strong man is forty-five pounds per day). Some men and horses worked at a fulling-mill; and a smith was in constant employment. At a former visit I saw in the great room about three hundred women and girls; and in 1781 the whole number in the house was about six hundred. There is kept a regular account of the earnings, of the amount of which each person receives one-fourth.

I was happy to find, at my last visit, a great alteration in the countenances of the inhabitants, and in the state of the house, as to cleanliness. It is governed by eight directors (or regents) who must be married men. They meet every Saturday in a room appropriated to them, to examine, and give orders. There is also a room for their ladies, who meet at the same time to deliver out the women's work; and too much cannot be said in praise of their care and attention.

In the chapel, the men have a room below, and the women above. An hour is spent in the service here every morning.

There are several dark rooms for the confinement of the refractory (thirteen feet by four feet nine inches), over which are the names Ethiopia, India, London, etc. There is a spacious and convenient kitchen and bakehouse. But the sick rooms both for the men and women are too small.

In the room where the regents meet are their names and arms; and also the regulations, which Mr. Van Hassel, one of the regents, was so kind as to give me, together with a book containing an account of the institution, reprinted in 1766 from the original in 1622.

This book contains—instructions for the governors—orders for the officers of the house (such as steward, schoolmaster, taskmaster, clerk, rasp-master, turnkey, and porter)—and regulations for the management of the poor, and of such as have been committed for offences.

The steward is to ring a bell every morning at five (Sundays excepted), as a signal for the officers, the poor, etc. to rise and prepare for prayers. He is then to deliver the keys to the

turnkey. He and his wife are to distribute the meals, and to see that all in the house are properly instructed as to moral and religious duties. They are required to establish and preserve good order and harmony among the other officers. The steward must not permit the poor, or the wives, children and servants of the other officers, to converse with such as are confined for offences, or to buy or sell anything for them.

The schoolmaster must instruct the children in religion, and encourage them, at proper times, to learn and repeat portions of Scripture. He must also teach them reading, writing and accounts, and a decent behaviour to those that visit the house. He must take care that they attend divine service, and are orderly at it; and his wife, with the wives of the other officers, are required to examine the rooms, in order to guard against mischief, and wicked contrivances, and the danger of fire.

The taskmaster on Monday morning must give every person a particular task for the week, and on Saturday take an account of it. In giving their tasks, attention must be paid to the trade in which they had been employed, and to their ability and skill. The taskmaster is not permitted to undertake any work, either by himself or his wife, for his own private advantage. His wife has the care of all the linen of the house; and to see it regularly delivered, etc.

The clerk must keep an exact account, of the receipts, and expenditure, of all the money, and materials—for work—provisions—and furniture.

The rasp-master and the turnkey have the care of the criminals—to conduct them to, and from their work—to prepare their wood and tools, and to serve them with provisions. Every Saturday the rasp-master must see that all their rooms are swept and thoroughly washed. He is never to go abroad without being permitted by the steward, and delivering to him the keys. He must avoid all familiarity in conversing with the criminals. The taskmaster with the rasp-master, must carefully visit the bedrooms of the prisoners two or three times every week, and examine their bedding and straw, and every Saturday get all the rooms thoroughly cleansed.

The porter must not suffer any of the poor to go out, without leave, and obtaining a leaden stamp from the steward. He must stand before the doors of the bedrooms of the criminals while they pass to their workrooms in the morning, and also when they return in the evening.

The poor are not allowed to be absent all night, or to bring

in company. Such of them as have learned to work, and appear to be reformed and industrious, are on their humble petition to be discharged.

When prisoners are brought in, they must be examined and washed, and if necessary, clothed. Every Saturday afternoon they are to be dismissed from work, to clean themselves and wash their rooms, and the court: after which they are to receive clean shirts, and every four or six weeks, clean bed linen.

Absence from prayers—swearing, cursing, lying, and cheating—quarrelling, or seeing others quarrel and fight without giving notice to the steward or schoolmaster—are punished by fine, or forfeiture. All who commit any violence, or attempt an escape, together with those who abet or conceal them, are punished by a prolongation of their term of confinement, if not in some other way. Such as refuse to work, are to be punished with short allowance, or with stripes; and for a continued refusal, must be ignominiously exposed or put into the pillory. After an escape they are recommitted and punished; but for the second escape they are banished from the city and territory.

I observed in the table of diet, that the poor are allowed no meat, except on the great festivals. At their meals they are allowed rye bread, and at breakfast butter with it. At dinner and supper they are allowed peeled barley, oats or buck-wheat hot, with milk (which in that city is remarkably good). The logwood-raspers and hemp-beaters are allowed a double quantity of bread and butter. The sick are allowed a better diet, consisting of white bread, beer, soup or meat, just as ordered by the physician.

In the spin-house (confinement in which is accounted infamous), the men were employed in spinning, in more lightsome rooms than those of the other house. In 1776, there were seventy-three prisoners, and in 1781, fifty-two.

Here, as at some other towns, is a prison for slight offences (Roken-Kiste). The punishment to be confined for three or four days to two or three weeks, and live on bread and water only. To prevent the prisoners having anything else, what money they bring with them is taken and sealed up; but it is returned to them when discharged.

## DENMARK

At the entrance of many towns in Denmark, a whipping-post stands conspicuous; on the top of which the figure of a man is placed, with a sword by his side, and a whip in his right hand.[1] Gibbets and wheels are also placed on eminences, on which the bodies of malefactors are sometimes left after execution, to deter others from their crimes.

Criminals are never put into irons before their trial, unless when they are apprehended in the act of murder, or some other very atrocious crime. After condemnation, application is made to Parliament, which either confirms, or reverses the sentence pronounced.

Some criminals are punished by being whipped in the market-place, and banished. Some of the lower sort, as watchmen, coachmen, etc., are punished by being led through the city in what is called the Spanish mantle. This is a kind of heavy vest, something like a tub, with an aperture for the head, and irons to enclose the neck. I measured one at Berlin, one foot eight inches diameter at the top, two feet eleven at the bottom, and two feet eleven inches high. This mode of punishment is particularly dreaded, and is one cause that night robberies are never heard of in Copenhagen.

The place of execution is out of the city. Decollation is reckoned more honourable by the sword than by the axe. This is the common mode of execution; but of some more heinous crimes the punishment is breaking on the wheel; and in executing this on state prisoners, it has been the practice sometimes to begin with cutting off their right hands. After the sentence of a criminal is confirmed, he is allowed time to prepare for death, from eight to fourteen days, as the chaplain attending him thinks necessary. He is confined in a cell (or dungeon) at night, but is allowed to be in an upper room in the day.

Executions are rare. A great number for child-murder are condemned to work in spin-houses for life, and to be whipped annually, on the day when, and the spot where, the crime was

[1] Would not some public intimations of the punishment to follow crimes be useful also in England? Notwithstanding the numbers of fishermen and loose boys about Amsterdam, the Hague, and Schevelin, their public walks and beautiful plantations remain uninjured; which is owing, partly to the strictness of the police, and partly to the warnings given by *placarts* painted on boards, and hung up in different places, with representations of whipping, cutting off hands, etc.

committed. This mode of punishment is dreaded more than death, and since it has been adopted has greatly prevented the frequency of the crime. The punishment for grand larceny has been, since 1771, whipping, and slavery for life.

RENDSBURG. At Rendsburg in Holstein, in the guard-room at the entrance of the prison, on a slate was a list of seventy-seven slaves; sixty well, and seventeen sick. They are distinguished by a brown coat with red sleeves, and irons on one leg, with a chain fastened to their waists. They work on the fortifications; in summer from five to eleven, and from one to six. Their bread was coarse and black, and seemed by the taste, to be made of buck-wheat. Besides an allowance of bread, they have a pay of one stiver (a penny) a day. They lie on barrack-beds. Their countenances were more clear and healthy than those of the common people, postillions, etc., who have opportunities of procuring spirituous liquors.

COPENHAGEN. At Copenhagen, the state prison is in the citadel. In this prison there are five or six rooms, about fifteen feet by fourteen with one window, and a case (or bed) in each. These rooms were clean and whitewashed. I observed here one prisoner, who was guarded by an officer and soldier in the room, and another at the door, though the guard-room was below. The weather being then very warm, (thermometer 77°) he was permitted to have his window open: and this is all the fresh air allowed state prisoners, for they are never suffered to go out of their rooms. The king makes them an ample allowance for diet. At the time of divine service, their doors are opened, and they hear it by an oblique perforation into the church, through the thick wall opposite to the doors.

The stoct-hause is near the ramparts. Here criminals from the garrison, and convicts from the different classes of the people, are condemned to slavery. On one side of the court belonging to this prison, there are two rooms on the ground-floor, each of which, though only ten feet high, has two tiers of barrack-beds. These rooms, being crowded, are unhealthy. Over them there are two close rooms for the sick; and also a chapel, which has no gallery, the ceiling being very low. Here I saw a hundred and forty-three slaves, who were distinguished by a brown coat with red sleeves, and breeches likewise of both colours. They never put off their clothes at night; and as they have new clothes only once in two years, and those very slight, I did not wonder to find many of them almost naked. Some had light chains on one leg, some heavier chains on both legs;

others had iron collars: one was chained by his wrists to a wheelbarrow. These, I understood, were punishments inflicted upon those of them who had attempted to escape, etc.

On the other side of the court, and down ten steps, there are seven arched dungeons about fifteen feet by seven, with one window eighteen inches by twelve, in which were eleven prisoners, who lay on barrack-beds.

The distress and despair in the pale and sickly countenances of the slaves were shocking to humanity. My first visit was on Saturday; the next day I went to the service at the chapel, where, of the few that attended, the man chained to the wheelbarrow was one. They sat together on benches, and soldiers were properly placed at different parts of the chapel, and two with bayonets fixed, stood at the door. Service being ended, the slaves first passed down. I then revisited their rooms, where most of them lay on barracks, dirty beyond description. At my third visit, I found the prison put into better order, and swept. The offensiveness of this prison always gave me a headache, such as I suffered from my first visits to the English prisons.

These slaves work on the fortifications, and their time for working in summer, is from five to eleven, and from one to six. Their allowance is seven pounds of black bread every five days, besides a pay of one stiver a day in winter, and in summer, when they work more hours, a stiver and a half. They were attended by a guard consisting of twenty soldiers. In returning from their work, I observed that some of them were chained to one another in pairs with loose chains. These, I found, were some of the worst, who had passed under the hands of an executioner and were branded; on a slate fifty-eight in this class; and eighty-five, of the first class.

## SWEDEN

In travelling through the country in Sweden, I observed the houses to be much cleaner than those in Denmark; and this led me to hope I should find the same difference in the prisons; especially as I was told they were visited every Saturday by an officer from the chancery. But I was disappointed, for I found them as dirty and offensive as those in Denmark. Some of the prisons at Stockholm are near the water; the city, which stands on seven islands, being well adapted for that situation. When

I attended at the trials in the court of justice in July, the want of fresh air, in consequence of the windows being shut, affected me so much as to make me ill a considerable time afterwards.

STOCKHOLM. There are three prisons at Stockholm; one in the northern suburbs, one in the southern, and the other in the city itself. Criminals while confined in these prisons, are not in irons. If the offence be capital, they are after condemnation sent to the great prison (called Smed-garden); from whence they may appeal to Parliament, which must confirm the sentence before it can be executed.

The general mode of execution is by the axe. Women are beheaded on a scaffold, which is afterwards set on fire at the four corners, and consumed with the body. The present king has humanely abolished all torture, and ordered a dark cellar applied to this purpose in the great prison, to be bricked up.[1]

I was present four or five hours in one of the courts of justice, when many civil and criminal causes were tried. The burgomaster (with his gold chain) was seated at one end of a table, and on each side four or five other magistrates. The manner of swearing a witness was by requiring him to put two fingers on a Bible, and to pronounce the words of the oath deliberately after the burgomaster. In some causes only one witness was sworn; in others, several; and while one was under examination, the rest were not allowed to be present, except in trials for petty offences, when no oath was administered. In civil causes, both plaintiffs and defendants presented memorials, and some were allowed counsel. In a prosecution of a man for beating his wife, I observed that one of the senior magistrates pleaded the wife's cause, and then withdrew with the parties concerned in the prosecution. The judge, having consulted a book of laws, called them in again; and after hearing the law read and the sentence pronounced, they bowed and departed at different doors. I observed in petty disputes, a reconciliation so hearty sometimes taking place, that the contending parties shook hands, and went off together shedding tears of joy In the prison called Norr Kiämnärs Ratt for the northern suburbs (which are four times as large as the city itself) there are two justice-rooms and six other rooms. It had in it only three prisoners. The allowance, six stivers (2d.) per day.

In the prison for the southern district Soder Kiämnärs Ratt,

[1] The gaoler told me, that agreeably to the king's order, the doorway had been bricked up. On my insisting to see the wall that I might be assured of the fact, I found the cellar still open.

there were also six rooms: four of which, having their windows nailed up, were very dark, dirty and offensive. Here were five prisoners almost stifled, in consequence of receiving no air except through a small aperture in the door of each room. The other two rooms were light and airy, and are sometimes used as an infirmary. The gaoler here, as in the other prisons, sells liquors. His room, like those I have too often seen in my own country, was full of idle people who were drinking.

In the prison for the city, called Stads Kiàmnárs Ratt, the rooms were very dirty, and the windows of all, except one, were shut. The countenances of the prisoners bespoke neglect and oppression. Here were two rooms appropriated to criminals condemned for a certain term, to bread and water. In one of these rooms there were two persons, who seemed almost starved, being allowed only six stivers' worth of bread (2d.) per day, and that sold them by an unfeeling gaoler.[1] Here is no chapel; nor are the prisoners ever allowed to leave their noxious cells. I observed coffins are kept ready for the dead.

The Smed-garden (to which criminals are sent after condemnation) is a brick building in an airy situation. It has a court enclosed with high planks, or palisades. In one of the rooms on one side of this court, I saw two barrack-beds and three men, one of them loaded with irons. Their allowance is six stivers per day, with which they may purchase what they please. Two stivers' worth of bread weighed exactly twelve ounces.

On the other side of the court is the chapel, and the apartments of the women, where I saw five prisoners at needlework, but none in irons; and, I was informed, the women are never put into irons. There is a bed in the chapel; where the convict rests till his execution, which is sometimes three weeks: two days before this, his irons are taken off.

The men are allowed to walk in the court from eight to nine, and from four to five: the women are allowed the same privilege, but at different times.

The prison for debtors is in the city, and consists of two rooms on the first floor and two over them. Here were sixteen men, and one woman. The rooms being all open, they associate

[1] Seeing these miserable objects thankful for a small donation of bread, I said to the gaoler, "A sentence for twenty-eight days must be very severe." He replied, "It is good for their health." I can make a good conjecture of the state of a prison, from the countenances of the prisoners: complacency and submission appear under kind treatment, even though the apartments be bad, and the allowance scanty.

with one another as they please. The allowance to each is six stivers a day paid by their creditors: on default of payment they are released.

This prison being in a close part of the city, is one of the most unhealthy. But, I was informed, it is to be removed to a more airy situation in the southern suburbs.

The spin- or rasp-house has an inscription over the door, Stockholms Stad Spin och Rasp hus, An. 1750. It stands on a declivity, at the extremity of the suburbs, and near a lake. The number of prisoners was a hundred and eighty; twenty or twenty-five of whom I saw in a room, sorting, carding, or spinning wool: every prisoner is obliged to spin two pounds and a half (equal to about three thousand ells) of yarn in a day: all that is done by any prisoners more than this, they are paid for, at the rate of two stivers a pound; and, as a further reward, they become entitled to an abridgment of their term of confinement, in proportion to their diligence.

The women's apartments were clean; but the countenances of the men and boys were sickly, and their rooms dirty and offensive. The men were not separated from the boys as they should have been, nor the women from the girls.

The rooms employed as an infirmary were clean, and strewed with the young shoots of the spruce fir: it had in it five sick women, and five or six convalescents.

On inquiry, I found the scurvy was a prevailing disorder here, especially in August; which, I doubt not, is owing to close confinement, to the want of cleanliness, and to the use of salt-fish and other salt provisions. Some precautions are used against this disorder, for the prisoners at their admission are examined by the surgeons; after which they are required to bathe themselves, and to continue this as a practice twice a a month.

They attend prayers in the hall of the spin-house every day; in summer, at six in the morning and seven in the evening; and in winter, at eight and four.

A person in the office of an inspector has a convenient house here, with a salary of £50 per annum, which is large for this country, and four times more than the salary of the keeper. I am persuaded of the impropriety of trusting such establishments to the care of interested men. Neither the condition of the wards, nor the appearance of the prisoners, did this inspector any credit.

## RUSSIA

In Russia the peasants and servants are bondmen or slaves, and their lords (or masters) may inflict on them any corporal punishment, or banish them to Siberia, on giving notice of their offence to the police. But they are not permitted to put them to death. Should they, however, die by the severity of their punishment, the penalty of the law is easily evaded. Instances notwithstanding, of great attachment of peasants to their lords, in consequence of good treatment, are not uncommon. A gentleman was shown me at Petersburg, whose peasants, hearing of his intention to sell his estate, brought him all the money they had saved, and gave it him, upon condition that he should keep his land, and still continue to be their master.

Debtors in this country are often employed as slaves by government, and allowed twelve roubles [1] yearly wages, which goes towards discharging the debt.[2] In some cases of private debts, if any person will give sufficient security to pay twelve roubles a year as long as the slave lives, or till the debt is paid off; as also to produce the slave when he is demanded; such person may take him out of confinement: but if he fails to produce him when demanded, is liable to pay the whole debt immediately.

There are no regular gaolers appointed in Russia, but all the prisons are guarded by the military. Little or no attention is paid to the reformation of prisoners. In the instructions for a new code of laws by the present Empress,[3] however, a very just and humane distinction is made between prisoners of different classes. "One ought not to confine in the same place, (1) an accused person, against whom there are only appearances, (2) a convict, (3) a criminal who is condemned to prison as a punishment. The accused person is only detained; the two others are imprisoned: but with respect to the former of them, the prison is only a part of punishment; with respect to the latter, it is the punishment itself."

There is no capital punishment for any crime but treason:

[1] One hundred copecks is a rouble, and a rouble about four shillings.

[2] An impracticable scheme has been advanced by a late author to oblige debtors in England to work off their debts by their own labour. The Marquis Beccaria, in his former editions of his *Essay on Crimes and Punishments*, had proposed some such scheme; but in the third edition he acknowledged his mistake, and confessed that he had injured the rights of humanity and was ashamed that he had adopted so inconsiderate an opinion.

[3] Catherine the Great.—[Ed.]

but the common punishment of the knoot is often dreaded more than death, and sometimes a criminal has endeavoured to bribe the executioner to kill him. This punishment seldom causes immediate death, but death is often the consequence of it.

PETERSBURG. The governor of the police at Petersburg was so kind as to fix a time for showing me all the instruments commonly used for punishment—the axe and block—the machine (now out of use) for breaking the arms and legs—the instrument for slitting or lacerating the nostrils—and that for marking criminals (which is done by punctuation, and then rubbing a black powder on the wounds)—the knoot whip—and another called the cat, which consists of a number of thongs from two to ten. The knoot whip is fixed to a wooden handle a foot long, and consists of several thongs about two feet in length twisted together, to the end of which is fastened a single tough thong of a foot and a half, tapering towards a point, and capable of being changed by the executioner, when too much softened by the blood of the criminal.

10 August, 1781, I saw two criminals, a man and a woman, suffer the punishment of the knoot. They were conducted from prison by about fifteen hussars and ten soldiers. When they arrived at the place of punishment, the hussars formed themselves into a ring round the whipping-post, the drum beat a minute or two, and then some prayers were repeated, the populace taking off their hats. The woman was taken first: and after being roughly stripped to the waist, her hands and feet were bound with cords to a post made for the purpose, a man standing before the post to keep the cords tight. A servant attended the executioner, and both were stout men. The servant first marked his ground, and struck the woman five times on the back. Every stroke seemed to penetrate deep into her flesh. But his master thinking him too gentle, pushed him aside, took his place, and gave all the remaining strokes himself, which were evidently more severe. The woman received twenty-five, and the man sixty: I pressed through the hussars, and counted the number as they were chalked on a board. Both seemed but just alive, especially the man, who yet had strength enough to receive a small donation with some signs of gratitude. They were conducted back to prison in a little wagon. I saw the woman in a very weak condition some days after, but could not find the man any more.

In the fortress there are many vaulted rooms, some of which are now used for the confinement of deserters, and criminals

of various sorts, who work on the fortifications. Some were glad of the privilege of being employed in the governor's garden, for the sake of the flour which he gave them for their labour. Others, with logs to their legs, were drawing wood out of the Neva. Thirty-five were crowded into one of the rooms, which therefore was excessively hot, having only two small apertures (ten inches by nine) for the admission of air. In another part of this building, seventy-five slaves with logs fastened to both their legs, were lodged in four rooms, which were still more close and offensive. In a few rooms (used as barracks) some officers were confined. Every room was furnished with an oven or stove, and most of them with barrack-beds.

In the police prison there were in one room nine women, and in two other rooms forty-four men. In two small and low arched cellars (very hot and offensive) I saw fifteen men, most of them in irons. In a room called the infirmary, detached from the rest of the prison, there were seven persons sick. All the prisoners subsist on voluntary contributions, collected in boxes before their grates, and at church. This is all the advantage they derive from the church near the prison, for they are never permitted to enter it, or to go out of their rooms; except on particular occasions with guards of soldiers.

The prison for debtors consists of four vaulted rooms communicating with one another, and furnished with stoves and barrack-beds. The prisoners are never permitted to go out of their rooms. They subsist by alms received from passengers in little boxes placed before the windows; but government supplies them with wood for fuel. One told me, he had been confined for five years, for a debt of fifteen roubles; and another, four years for twenty-five roubles.

On a rising ground at a little distance from Petersburg, and on the south side of the river Neva, there is a stately pile of buildings, originally designed for a convent, but ever since 1764 converted by the Empress Catherine the Second, into a public establishment for educating the female nobility of Russia, and a limited number of the children of commoners. The sleeping rooms and dining-halls in these buildings are remarkably lofty and airy, having large galleries round them; and adjoining to the buildings there are spacious gardens and lawns, which extend to the banks of the river. The number of the children of nobility on this establishment is two hundred; and the number of the children of commoners, or peasants was, till 1770, limited to two hundred and forty: but since this year it has been

increased to two hundred and eighty, by a fund provided by the munificence of General De Betskoi, the enlightened and liberal head and director-general of this, and all the other institutions of the same kind established by her Imperial Majesty.

The principal regulations for conducting this institution are the following:

The children are admitted between five and six years of age, and continued on the establishment twelve years. They are divided into classes according to their ages, four of nobles with fifty in each class, and four of commoners with seventy in each class. In every third year on 21 April (the birthday of the Empress), fifty children of the nobility, and seventy of commoners are taken in, to replace the same numbers discharged.

Before they rise every morning, the windows of the rooms are thrown open to purify them with fresh air.

The first class (dressed in brown, and consisting of children of the youngest ages), rise at seven in winter, and at six in summer. After being washed and attending prayers, they are taken into the garden where they breakfast, and play about in the coldest weather till nine. During their first year, each of them is allowed for breakfast, a small loaf of white bread, and a glass of milk and water; but after their first year, they are allowed no other drink than water. At nine they are called back to the house, and from this hour to eleven are employed in learning the French and Russian languages, and in knitting, sewing, etc., but care is taken to render all the instruction they receive agreeable, nothing being taught in this establishment by compulsion. Twice in the week they receive lessons in dancing; and this is a part of education common to all the classes, and never discontinued, because reckoned conducive to health. After eleven they return to their play in the garden, where they continue till noon, at which time they are called to dinner, which consists of soup, vegetables, etc. For some months at first they are allowed meat; but they are gradually weaned from it, till at last, while in this and the next class, it comes to be entirely withheld from them except in soups, in order to cure them of some cutaneous distempers to which at this age they are subject, and also to prepare them for passing with less danger through the whooping-cough, measles and smallpox. After dinner they return to the garden, and at four, have a repast similar to that in the morning, viz. a loaf of bread and a glass of water. Here they continue to divert themselves till at seven they are called to supper, which consists

in winter of dried fruit, milk, and grain; and in summer of preparations of milk, and some provisions from the garden. It may be proper to add, that they read and write standing, and are not allowed to sit down, except to needlework. In consequence of this management, and of living so much in the air, and being used to exercise, and cleanliness and a simple diet, they are seldom known to take cold; and become capable of bearing the severest weather of the climate without receiving any harm, their clothing being only a short wadded cloak, whilst others are loaded with furs.

The second class (dressed in blue) enter it about eight years of age, and are obliged to apply more closely to writing, drawing, dancing, etc.

The third class (dressed in grey) enter it at eleven or twelve years of age. They rise at five, in the summer, and six in winter; but are called to the house (after breakfasting in the garden), an hour sooner than the children in the first and second classes; because more time is wanted for instructing and improving them. They are now taught (besides drawing, dancing, turning,[1] needlework, etc.) vocal and instrumental music. They are allowed a ball and concert every week; and a taste for books is inspired, by putting them upon copying and reciting select passages from the best authors.

The fourth class (dressed in white) enter it at fourteen or fifteen years of age. They are taught tambour-work, housekeeping, the management of a family, etc., and initiated into history, geography, and natural philosophy. In order to acquire a just elocution, and to exercise themselves in politeness, and vocal and instrumental music, they occasionally give balls and little operas to company from Petersburg.

The children of the nobility are distinguished from the children of commoners, only by wearing a finer camlet of the colours appropriated to the different classes; and as far as diet, exercise, regimen, etc., are concerned, the method of managing them is the same; but the instruction given the latter, is confined to needlework, reading, housekeeping and such other occupations and improvements as are suitable to the humbler walks of life, for which they are intended.

The children on this foundation enjoy, as might be expected, an uncommon degree of health. Of fifty-one children of nobility admitted in 1764, and fifty admitted in 1767, and

[1] I was obliged to the ladies for a very curious piece of their work in ivory, which was presented to me on my visit to this house.

fifty-two in 1770, none had died in 1781; and of fifty admitted at different times, by the particular order of the Empress, between 1764 and 1780, only two had died in 1781. Of sixty children also of commoners admitted in 1767, and seventy in 1770, only seven had died in 1781. But of sixty admitted in 1764, thirteen had died; in consequence, it is supposed, of having been lodged in a part of the buildings which had been just erected, and therefore was not sufficiently dry.

This account I owe to the obliging information of Dr. Guthrie, physician to a military cadet corps of nobles, established at Petersburg by the Empress, and supposed the grandest institution of the kind in the world.

Moscow. The great prison at Moscow, Kaluska Ostrog, is in the suburbs. In the first room of a brick building there are four wooden cages, in which were two men chained by the neck to the wall, with irons on their legs. Near this room there were several rooms for the examination and punishment of criminals.

At the back of this building is a court sixty feet wide, with a guard-house in it and six rooms for confinement.

The main prison, on the outside is two hundred and eighty feet by two hundred and forty-four. It is enclosed with strong pieces of timber sixteen or eighteen feet high. The entrance from the court just mentioned leads into a walk (twenty-four feet wide), on one side of which there are three other courts, and four on the opposite side of different dimensions. In these courts there are a number of wooden houses consisting of one, two, or three rooms; every room having barrack-bedsteads or shelves in it, and an iron-lattice door, with another of wood. In two of the courts there are small rooms or chapels, where divine service is read. The whole number of prisoners in September 1781 was seventy-four. There is a distinct court and two rooms appropriated to women, in which were ten, but none in irons. The doors of the houses were open to allow the prisoners to walk in the courts: except the houses in the two upper courts, where, in a building occupied only by himself, I saw a Russian gentleman who was always locked up; and whose crime, I was informed, had been cruelly whipping his slaves.

One sentinel stood at each corner of this prison, one at the centre of the front, three in the middle walk, and two at the entrance. In the walk there is the well, and a shed or hut for the sale of quas,[1] apples, and bread; and on the outside of the

[1] Quas; this favourite liquor of the Russians, is a sort of sour small beer, in making which wild mint is used instead of hops.

door many boxes to receive the alms of passengers; the prisoners subsisting chiefly by charitable contributions.[1]

The prison for debtors in this city was very dirty. In five rooms I saw above a hundred miserable wretches lying on the floors, most of them half naked. At a little distance from these rooms there were six criminals in one of the most offensive rooms I ever entered.

The military prison is situated in the middle of a plain at Butirki, about a mile from this city. It is a single room, into which were crowded one hundred and thirty prisoners, though only twenty-nine feet by twenty-six, and not nine feet high. It is constructed of wood, surrounded with wooden palisades, and furnished with two tiers of barrack-bedsteads without beds. The pale sickly countenances of the prisoners bespoke oppression and misery, and prevented the wonder I should have otherwise felt at finding so large a number as fifty-five in the ward appropriated to the sick, in the military hospital. A sentinel was planted at each corner, and two at the door. On the outside of the palisades there was a well, and two or three buildings or barracks, in one of which were confined nine officers, but they had beds.

At the back of Catherine Hospital in the invalids' court, in a prison consisting only of one room, there were fifty-two men and seventeen women. The women were employed in weeding in the garden, and the men in emptying a moat at a palace about half a mile from the prison. They had no irons, but were distinguished by a black cross on the back of their clothes. They work from morning till night, except for two hours about noon, and are allowed three copecks' worth of bread in a day; but salt is withheld from them by way of punishment.

One of my visits happening to be on a Sunday, I was surprised to find the prisoners all at work; some piling and planking the canal, others cutting the barberry hedges in the palace garden, and the women weeding.

Riga. "About ten miles from Riga, the slaves or condemned persons, were in a prison or ostrag . . . [consisting of] several wooden houses, surrounded with high pales. The rooms contained about twenty-four persons; each had his bedstead, and most of them a little bedding. In one of the rooms they were all foreigners (forty-two), most of them for debt, some for

[1] The prisoners here, who are condemned to the mines in Siberia, three days before their departure go chained through the streets, crying for charity, to support them on their long journey, their allowance being small.

so small sums as three or four roubles (eight to eleven shillings), but with some unfavourable circumstance attending the debt, so that persons are not immediately permitted to discharge them. They are allowed from government twenty copecks (6½d.) a day, eight of which are for their diet, clothes, etc., and the other twelve for their creditors, till the whole debt is paid off. These were also in irons and work with the criminals at the public works.

"In other rooms were three hundred and forty-five prisoners. In a small inner room, I found two Russians, sent hither about four years ago: they had a guard at the door, and had never been out of the room, and are heavily ironed both hands and feet: they are never spoken to, nor is their crime known. They had suffered the punishment of the knoot (which in my former publication I have described), and had a piece cut out of each nostril, and the mark on the cheeks, which is the signature of their condemnation for life. I saw several others thus marked for murder or other very capital crimes. All the prisoners were in irons, and work in summer from four to eleven, and from one to eight, unless sick, which the surgeon comes every morning to examine. There were three hundred and eleven out, the day I was there, hewing timber, driving piles, wheeling and carrying the stones for a fine mole sixty-five feet wide and half a mile long, on which they had been employed for six years: their allowance is six copecks a day, for which all their clothing and provision is found; the former bad, the latter very indifferent. As to religious instruction, once a year only they go to the chapel in the citadel; and on the other Sundays they amuse themselves, or make shoes, etc. About a fortnight before my visit, the head knoot-master was brought from St. Petersburgh, who being with the other two knoot-masters at a public-house, they happened to quarrel: he immediately struck off the head of one of them; the other seeming to resent it he dexterously decapitated him also. As no crime, not even that crying one of shedding blood, is punished in Russia with death, this man received two hundred and seventy strokes of the knoot, the executioner from Moscow being brought for that purpose; and being condemned for life, was marked as before described. Here he met several of his former acquaintance to whom he had given the knoot, and on being asked in how many strokes he could kill a man, he said, if a strong man, he could in five and twenty, but if not strong, in twenty strokes."

[From "*Account of Lazarettos*," *second edition, appendix* ]

## POLAND

Warsaw. In Warsaw, at the town-house, in September 1781, there were twenty-six men and eight women, crowded into three rooms on the ground-floor for confining debtors; the reason of which was, that the prison was repairing. Down several steps were eight new dungeons for criminals, four on each side a passage only six feet wide. There was no gaoler, the prison being guarded by soldiers.

At the prison near the palace, in two rooms there were seven prisoners, five of them in irons. Allowance a good grosche a day, which is a little more than three halfpence.

The entrance to another prison was through a guard-room full of soldiers. In one room (twenty feet by ten) were twenty-six miserable objects, some sick on the dirt floor. In another room, not so bad, there were four.

In the prison in the new city there were a few women confined for debt, and a man and woman for theft: their allowance one good grosche a day.

A date on the front of a prison near the Vistula informed me it was rebuilt in 1769. There were eighty-one prisoners in it, whose beds were mattresses stuffed with straw. Most of them were employed in sawing wood and other occupations in the streets of the city for the inhabitants, who get their labour at one-third less than the expense of other labourers; the public being at the same time eased of part of the expense of supporting them.

In the suburbs is the zugth-hus, or spin-house, improperly so called, many of the miserable wretches seeming to have nothing to do. Some, however, were employed; and their allowance for working from six in the morning to seven at night, with two hours' rest at noon, was two grosche (3¼d.) each per day, which went to the keeper for feeding, or rather (as appeared by their looks) for starving them. The sick were lying on floors of dirt, without medical or any other assistance. This gave me so unfavourable an opinion of the police[1] of this country, that I could feel no inclination to visit the prisons in the provinces or (according to my constant practice in other places), to revisit those in the capital.

[1] Police = policy, in the sense of civil administration.

## GERMANY

Berlin. At Berlin, in the city prison called Calands Hoff, there are eight rooms on the ground-floor, and down ten steps eight dungeons: these rooms (thirteen feet by nine feet four inches) were numbered, and had barracks and stoves, one stove for two rooms. The dungeons are for the more atrocious criminals, of whom I saw several in irons, who were chained to staples in the wall. In 1778 the number of prisoners was eighteen men and thirteen women; and in 1781 it was fifty-eight of both sexes. Two of these were debtors; whose allowance is two grosche (3½d.) a day each. This allowance is paid by the creditors, and if omitted one week, the debtor is set at liberty. The allowance to criminals is one grosche and a half. The prisoners, when their process is finished, are permitted to go into the court; the men for an hour each time, at eight, one, and four in summer, and three in winter; the women for one hour only in the day, from two to three. The prisoner, at his discharge, pays the gaoler a grosche a day, for the time he was confined before his process was finished, unless the judge orders otherwise. The process ought to be finished in three months; and if it is not, the secretary is required to give account of the cause of the delay. After three months' imprisonment, the fee to the gaoler is only half a grosche a day. Here is a head-keeper, who has apartments in the prison; an under-gaoler whose rooms look towards the prison windows; a surgeon whose salary is fifty crowns (écus) a year, besides the pay for his medicines; a chaplain; and a secretary (greffier) who keeps the books, papers, etc. The head-keeper's salary is fifteen crowns and twelve grosche a quarter. In a book which he keeps, the following particulars are entered in ten columns—the time when the prisoner was committed—the magistrate by whom he was committed — his name — age — religion — place of nativity — condition—cause of confinement—time of discharge—and the number of prisoners. One of the judges is obliged to visit the prison once a week.

There were only three or four prisoners in a room, none of whom are permitted to go into the court till their process is finished (as my conductor informed me), that confederates may not be together. One soldier at the gate, guards the prison in the daytime; but at night it is guarded by one within, and another at the back of the prison. These soldiers are relieved every two hours.

There is no torture-room in any of the prisons in the Prussian dominions, for the present king [1] has set the example in Germany of abolishing the cruel practice. In one of the rooms of this prison are alphabetically digested, the names and descriptions, with the sentences, of all who have been confined in this prison, in order that should they be found here a second time, they may suffer a much severer punishment.

In the court-prison (Haus-Voightey), there are seven cells for criminals, and over them eight rooms for debtors and smugglers. These rooms look into a court, to which prisoners have access two hours in a day. All the rooms have barracks and stoves as in the other prison.[2]

The Maison de Travail, is a spacious building in the suburbs: it was erected in 1758: the front is two hundred and twenty feet, the sides a hundred and sixty. It has a court in the centre. The number of inhabitants in 1778, were about four hundred and fifty, including fourteen children, and in 1781 five hundred and forty-six. Beggars, idle persons, and petty offenders of both sexes are sent to this house. Those who can work are employed, fed, and clothed; and proper care and attention paid to the aged and infirm. Every time I was there, I was pleasingly struck with the cleanly appearance of all the inhabitants. Old and young, men and women, were spinning and carding wool, in rooms about seventy-five feet by twenty-four. All have clean linen once a week; and I observed a towel hanging up in each room. The apartments are whitewashed once a year: this gives freshness and neatness, and also light to the workrooms. Here is a chapel with two galleries, one for each sex; and an apartment for the chaplain. The hall for meals is spacious: the hours, seven, twelve, and seven. I was present at dinner-time; after ringing a bell, in ten minutes all were seated at about twenty tables, eighteen to each table. Four separate tables were at a little distance for criminals. A servant having called out, silence, the schoolmaster prayed at the desk in the middle of the room. And after all had helped themselves with barley-soup,[3] while they were eating, he read part of a chapter

[1] Frederick the Great.—[Ed.]

[2] Here the criminals had fire in all the stoves, though early in October. On my observing the propriety of this, the gaoler asked me, whether criminals had not fire allowed them in my country? On my saying that in some prisons they had not, he replied, "How then do they exist in winter?"

[3] I tasted the barley-soup, the bread and the beer, which were wholesome and good, and they had enough.—They have butter or cheese, with their bread for supper.

in the Bible; then sung a hymn, in which the children, who were all at one table, joined; after which, all went out and fetched their cans, each containing about a quart, and they were filled with small beer. After spending about half an hour at dinner, they had half an hour for recreation. The whole was conducted with the greatest regularity.

In the hall are morning prayers, at which all must attend clean, and then they take their bread for breakfast. The inhabitants are divided into two classes, the poor, and criminals. In 1781 there were eighty-six of the latter class, who are more confined than the poor. Both classes have the same nourishment, except that the first have meat twice a week, and the second only on Sunday. Their weekly task is twelve pieces (or knots), each weighing five ounces: if they do more, they are paid for it. When they are sick, they are sent to the great hospital; where the room allotted to them, and all the other rooms, are too much crowded. Dinner for the second class is, Sunday, peas and half a pound of meat; Monday and Friday, beans or lentils; Tuesday and Saturday, flour; Wednesday, barley; Thursday, peas.

This house resembles the old rasp- or workhouse at Amsterdam. It is exceedingly neat, and such great attention is paid to all confined in it, as prevents every ground of complaint. The strict and good police preserve the city of Berlin entirely free from beggars.

Magdeburg. At Magdeburg the Prussian slaves were at work on the fortifications, serving the masons, digging sand, etc. Their daily allowance is two pounds of bread, and on the days they work, they have also in money, half a grosche, about three farthings. The number was only fifty-one, for many had been taken to recruit the army.

In the other prisons, nothing seemed worthy of observation: but in the house of correction (which was formerly a convent) was a mill to grind or beat the logwood that the men rasped; and two or three large chambers of silkworms, on which the women attended.

Dresden. At Dresden, the apartments for the slaves being under the fortifications, must be unhealthy. I saw four sick, and yet they had their irons on. Among those that were at work, one had an iron collar, by way of punishment for making an escape, besides the broad iron about his leg. Another was sitting, and endeavouring somewhat to alter the place of his iron. He told me that the weight was marked on it twenty-one

pounds, and that he could not have it changed to the other leg without paying a smith.[1]

VIENNA. At Vienna, in 1778, I visited all the prisons, and most of the hospitals. The prisons are old buildings, and afford no instruction.

The front of the great prison, La Maison de Bourreau, is remarkable for a very striking representation of the crucifixion of our Saviour, and the two thieves on Mount Calvary. In this prison are many horrid dungeons.

Here, as usual, I inquired whether they had any putrid fever, and was answered in the negative. But in one of the dark dungeons down twenty-four steps, I thought I had found a person with the gaol-fever. He was loaded with heavy irons, and chained to the wall: anguish and misery appeared with clotted tears on his face. He was not capable of speaking to me; but on examining his breast and feet for petechiæ or spots, and finding he had a strong intermitting pulse, I was convinced that he was not ill of that disorder. A prisoner in an opposite cell told me, that the poor creature had desired him to call out for assistance, and he had done it, but was not heard. This is one of the bad effects of dungeons.

In the house of correction, were a hundred and sixty-nine men, and a hundred and forty women. The women were employed in carding, spinning, and knitting. I was present on a Monday morning, when they brought their week's work, for which, after it had been weighed, they received their pay. They have all that they earn for themselves. A few received twenty-six creutzers[2] each, others less. The keeper was employed in putting the name on the work of each prisoner, and setting down the money that was paid, and the cotton delivered. The prisoners saw the cotton weighed, and took as much as they could spin in that week.[3] At dinner-time, several large pans of soup and beer were brought in, and the prisoners bought what they thought proper.

[1] On paying my acknowledgments to the grand bailiff for permitting me to see the gaol, I took the liberty to observe, that I had seen prisons cleaner. I mentioned also the severity of chaining women, which is very uncommon in other countries. To this he answered, that "the gaoler chained them for security, being often obliged to be absent in fetching prisoners from the country." In return, I gave my opinion that the attention to a prison ought to be the whole employment of a gaoler, without which, little regard will be paid to cleanliness or humanity.

[2] A creutzer is near a halfpenny.

[3] In the holy days, when the prisoners are not permitted to work, each has an allowance of four or five creutzers.

TRIESTE. At Trieste, the prison consists of eight or ten very close offensive rooms, each having only one small window. The pale countenances of the (nineteen) prisoners bespoke their own misery, and the negligence of the magistrates and keepers.

But in the castle were eighty-five slaves (*condannati*) who seemed healthy and well. They were confined for three, five, seven, or fourteen years and upwards; and were employed on the roads, in the harbour, etc. Some of them were at work in a large lighter, clearing the harbour, just under my chamber window.[1] They were guarded by six soldiers. They did not work harder than other labourers would in the same employment. Their hours for work were from five in the morning till between five and six in the afternoon; but they had two (from eleven to one) allowed them for rest, and half an hour more sometime before they left work. They appeared healthy, clean and strong; and laboured cheerfully, because when they were employed, each of them received, as extraordinary pay, three farthings a day. They were distinguished from other labourers by a light chain on their legs. Their common allowance was two pounds and a half of bread and four farthings a day. I heard them called over, and saw them receive their pay, before they entered their chambers in the castle. Their bread was sweet and good. They were treated with humanity, though under strict discipline; were well supplied with food and clothes; had two shirts, two pairs of stockings, etc., and they lay in good beds with coverlets in large airy rooms having opposite windows, and not, like many convicts, in close dirty dungeons, under the fortifications.

[1] Two wheels were fixed in the lighter, one of them to draw back the scoop or bucket, and the other (by the weight of ten men treading in it) to raise the mud, which was then emptied into another lighter managed by the overseer of the work. Three or four times a day, a soldier (with a bayonet fixed on his musket) accompanied a convict, who went to fetch a tub of fresh water, and on his return he supplied each with a tumbler of it while they were at work in the wheel. By the mast of the other lighter, a sail was spread to shade them, the weather being very warm, Farenheit's thermometer 85°.

## ITALY

I entered Italy in 1778 with raised expectations of considerable information, from a careful attention to the prisons and hospitals, in a country abounding with charitable institutions and public edifices.

VENICE. At Venice, the chief prison is near the Doge's palace,[1] and it is one of the strongest I ever saw. There were between three and four hundred prisoners, many of them confined in loathsome and dark cells for life; executions here being very rare. There was no fever, or prevailing disorder in this close prison. None of the prisoners had irons. On weighing the bread allowance, I found it fourteen ounces. I asked some who had been confined many years in dark cells, whether they would prefer the galleys? They all answered in the affirmative: so great a blessing is light and air! The chapel is for the condemned, who continue there a night and a day before execution.

Regulations were hung up in the prison. Here is a charitable society established for the relief of prisoners both civil and criminal, and rules are published for the direction of the officers who have the management of it, of whom four are appointed visitors of the prison. There are likewise rules for the good government of the two infirmaries. These I procured from the ducal printer, with the regulations for the galleys and prisons, for many years past.

One of the galleys was moored two boats' length from the shore, in which were only twenty-seven slaves, who were kept here in order to be sent on board the other galleys. This was clean. Here, and in the other galleys, which were dirty and crowded, the slaves were in chains of about twenty-seven pounds weight. I saw a slave dead on the shore, who I suppose destroyed himself in despair; as he could have no hope of an escape by swimming, because of his heavy irons.

PADUA. I visited the prisons of Padua and Ferrara. In the former of these cities, none of the confined debtors would sit on the elevated stone stool in the great hall: and I was informed that not one had submitted to the ignominy these ten years.[2]

[1] The rooms for the State prisoners are over part of the palace on the leads, which renders confinement in the heat of summer almost intolerable.

[2] This is sometimes called the stone of disgrace; for if they who are insolvent would avoid imprisonment, at a time fixed they must sit upon it in a disgraceful manner three times.

FLORENCE. In Florence are two prisons. In the great prison Palazzo degl' Otto, were only twenty prisoners. Six of them were in the secret chambers, which are twenty-one strong rooms. None of the prisoners were in irons. They had mattresses to lie on. Their bread was good. In the torture-chamber, there was a machine for decollation, which prevents that repetition of the stroke which too often happens when the axe is used.

LEGHORN. The slaves in the fortress appeared healthy and well; better, as the old keeper remarked, since they have lain on shore. Galleys or hulks ought to be the punishment only for the most atrocious crimes. Each prisoner had a ring round one leg; but when they go out to work, a chain is riveted to two prisoners. Here were seven pontons to clear the harbour; but the weather, when I was there, being stormy, they could not be worked. There were forty-seven slaves employed at the new Lazaretto, which is a noble spacious building, with different apartments for officers and their men to perform quarantine, and large warehouses for the cargoes of their ships.[1]

The prisoners are condemned to labour, for thirty, twenty, ten, or seven years, or for a shorter term, according to the nature of their crimes; and are chiefly employed on the public works. They are sent out every morning, under a guard of soldiers, and are chained two and two together, with a chain of about eighteen pounds weight. An hour's relaxation is allowed them at breakfast, and two hours in the afternoon: and at an hour before sunset, they are reconducted to the prison, and must be well searched by the keepers, to prevent their having anything concealed: and two hours after sunset, they are ordered to go quietly to rest. When they are employed on the works by his Royal Highness, they are paid two crazzies (about three halfpence) a day; but if employed by other persons, they are paid four or six crazzies, according to the nature of the work. At daybreak, the turnkeys ring the bell to awake them: and a report is made by them to the keepers, if any have been guilty of irregularities during the night. Their daily allowance is a loaf of thirty ounces, which is made two-thirds of flour, and one-third of bran, and soup made from four ounces of peas boiled in water, with salt and oil. On each of the two Easter holidays they are allowed a pound of meat, and three ounces of rice. Every two years they have a coat of grey cloth, a waistcoat

[1] I wish some future traveller would give us plans of this Lazaretto, and that at Ancona and other places, as they might suggest some useful alterations in the construction of our hospitals and other public buildings.

of red cloth, and a red cap; every year a pair of shoes; and every six months a shirt, and a pair of drawers or breeches. Their drawers are shifted once a month, their shirts every week. For lodging, they have a mattress filled with straw, and a coverlet: the straw is changed, and kept in good order. If one attempts to desert, and be taken before sunset, he must wear a ring, and a chain of eighteen pounds weight; and he must pay half his future earnings, till it amounts to a zechin, to those that apprehended him.[1] If they who are condemned for five years, desert, when retaken their term again commences: and for repeated desertions, they are more severely punished, and sometimes tortured.

The chaplain must instruct the prisoners.

In the hospital there must be all proper provisions for the sick and infirm, viz. veal, mutton, rice, fine bread, broth, good wine, etc. A physician attends, and the diet and medicines must be according to his prescription. On entering, the patients have clean linen, shirts, night-caps, and clothes. And the keepers and turnkey must examine their victuals and soup, to see that they be good, and that the quantity be according to the physician's orders.[2]

ROME. At the great prison at Rome, called the New Prison, at the back of which runs the Tiber, on a stone tablet over the door, is this inscription:

JUSTITIÆ ET CLEMENTIÆ
SECURIORI AC MELIORI REORUM CUSTODIÆ
NOVUM CARCEREM
INNOCENTIUS X PONT. MAX.
POSUIT
ANNO DOMINI
MDCLV.

*To Justice and Clemency,*
*For the more secure and better custody of criminals,*
*Pope Innocent X erected this New Prison*
*In the year of our Lord*
1655.

On the ground-floor; on one side are the slaves for the galleys at Civita-vecchia: on the other side is a sort of cook's shop,

[1] A zechin is about 9s. 3d.

[2] In Tuscany during the ten years preceding 1765 there were 3076 in prison for debt, 704 for petty offences, 210 condemned to the galleys, 17 executed, 5 branded. This punishment of branding was abolished by the Grand Duke Leopold. In the four years preceding 1769 there was no capital punishment.

and a tap-room, over which are the women's apartments, five of whom were in the secret chambers, and twenty more at large. There are eighteen of these strong rooms for the men, which are close and offensive, each of them having but one window for admitting air and light. These rooms are never opened without an order from the governor of the city. There were sixty-eight prisoners. They are not permitted to go out of their rooms at any time, but for examination. Some having been confined there many years, appeared with pale sickly countenances; but none were in irons. Here is a chamber for distracted prisoners, in which were seven miserable objects. There are several chambers with beds for those who are called prisoners at large, for which each pays one paule and a half (about eightpence) a night. There is a chamber for priests, one for boys, one for Jews, and one for prisoners who have cutaneous disorders. On the upper floor are two infirmaries: one, appropriated to the prisoners in the secrete, in which were four patients. In the other, which is for the rest of the prisoners, were ten patients the first time I was there, and the last time only seven. This infirmary is a spacious airy ward, seventy-three feet by twenty-three, with seventeen beds, three feet three inches asunder; was clean, and had everything proper for the sick. The whole prison is arched with brick, for security in case of fire. The passages are seven feet two inches wide, and light. The ascent to each story, is by two flights of seventeen stone steps. These staircases are seven feet three inches wide; the rises five inches: this I mention, as generally, in our prisons (even those that are lately built) the stairs are narrow, the rises high, and the passages dark and inconvenient. There is a table of regulations by the authority of the magistrates hung up in this prison, ordering the exact times, of opening the prison and the court, of saying mass daily, and of distributing the alms. The times vary twice in a month, according to the different length of the days. In the same table, the physician is ordered to visit the sick in the infirmary every morning; and in case of extraordinary illness, in the evening. I wish I could say I had seen no torture-chamber. On the side of the great prison there is a pulley and rope to draw up malefactors by their hands which are tied behind them; after they have been suspended some time, by being suddenly let down part of the way, their arms are dislocated.

San Angelo. The State prisoners are confined in the castle of San Angelo. The rooms appropriated to that purpose were

all empty, except one, in which was a bishop, who had been confined upwards of twenty years, and was distracted. Here were also eighteen condannati who work in the fortress, and had each a light chain. They seemed healthy and well. On the death of the Pope, the prisoners are brought hither from the great prison, for upon such occasions the prisons are thoroughly cleaned.

I can give but little information respecting the prison of the inquisition. It is situated near the great church of St. Peter's. On one side of the court round which it is built, is the inquisitor-general's palace. Over the gate is an inscription importing "that it was erected by Pope Pius V in the year 1569." The windows of the prison have wooden blinds, and at a small distance is a high wall. The chambers of this silent and melancholy abode were quite inaccessible to me; and yet I spent near two hours about the court and the priests' apartments, till my continuance there began to raise suspicion.

In this city, as in most parts of Italy, is a *confraternità della misericordia*, called S. Giovanni di Fiorentini: as many of Florentine extraction were the founders. This institution is ancient, for the church of S. Gio Battista Decollato belonged to them in 1450. It consists of about seventy, chiefly nobles, of the best families. After a prisoner is condemned, one or two of them come to him the midnight before his execution, inform him of the sentence, and continue with him till his death. They, with the confessor, exhort and comfort him, and give him his choice of the most delicious food. All the fraternity attend the execution, dressed in white. When the prisoner is dead, they leave him hanging till the evening; then one of the fraternity, generally a noble, cuts him down, and orders him to be conveyed to the burying-place which they have appropriated to malefactors. I was there the twenty-ninth of August, the only day in the year when this burying-place is opened to the public. Adjoining to an elegant church is a chapel, which makes one side of a court, and on each of the other three sides, is a portico supported by Doric pillars. In the middle of the pavement [1] of the front portico the women, and in one of the side porticoes

[1] Here are marble stones, in which are circular apertures for the interment of those that are executed. Round these stones is inscribed:

*"Domine, cum veneris judicare,*
*Noli nos condemnare."*

*O Lord, when thou shalt come to judge,*
*do not condemn us.*

the men are buried. The latter are interred in the same dress in which they were hanged; for in Italy, coffins are not in general use.

The Hospital of S. Michele is a large and noble edifice. The back front is near three hundred yards long. It consists of several courts with buildings round them. In the apartments on three sides of one of the most spacious of these courts, are rooms for various manufactures and arts, in which boys who are orphans or destitute are educated and instructed. When I was there, the number was about two hundred, all learning different trades according to their different abilities and genius. Some were educated for printers, some for bookbinders, designers, smiths, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, and barbers; and some for weavers and dyers, a cloth manufacture being carried on here in all its branches. When the boys arrive at the age of twenty years, they are completely clothed, and a certain sum is given to set them up in the business they have learned. In the middle of the court is a noble fountain, and several inscriptions to the honour of the founders of this excellent institution.

Adjoining to another court are apartments for the aged and infirm, in which were two hundred and sixty men, and two hundred and twenty-six women. Here they find a comfortable retreat, having clean rooms and a refectory. I conversed with some of them, and they appeared happy and thankful.

Another part of the hospital is a prison for boys or young men. Over the door is this inscription:

CLEMENS XI PONT. MAX.
PERDITIS ADOLESCENTIBUS CORRIGENDIS
INSTITUENDISQUE
UT QUI INERTES OBERANT
INSTRUCTI REIPUBLICÆ SERVIANT.
AN. SAL. MDCCIV. PONT. IV.

*Pope Clement XI*
*For the correction and instruction*
*Of profligate youth:*
*That they, who when idle, were injurious,*
*When instructed, might be useful*
*To the State.*
1704.

In the room is inscribed the following admirable sentence,

in which the grand purpose of all civil policy relative to criminals is expressed.

PARUM EST
COERCERE IMPROBOS
PŒNA
NISI PROBOS EFFICIAS
DISCIPLINA.

*It is of little advantage*
*To restrain the Bad*
*By Punishment,*
*Unless you render them Good*
*By Discipline.*

Here were fifty boys spinning, and in the middle of the room an inscription hung up:

SILENTIUM.

Civita-vecchia. The Pope's galleys are at Civita-vecchia. The slaves condemned to them are confined for different terms, according to the nature of their crimes: but the shortest time is three years for vagabonds, who are generally employed on board the pontons in clearing the harbour. For theft, the term is never under seven years. Persons convicted of forgery are always confined for life; and if found guilty of forging bank-notes, or any instruments by which large sums have been lost, they are punished with an iron glove. Prisoners for life are chained two and two together: those for limited terms have all a single chain, and, at their first arrival, of the same weight; but when they have no more than one or two years to serve, they have only a ring round their leg, which is lessened as the end of their term approaches. For escapes, they are obliged to finish their first condemnation, and then receive a fresh one for the same time as the former; but if the first was for life, the same is renewed, and they receive from a hundred to two hundred lashes a day, for three days after their arrival. None are sent to the galleys under the age of twenty: criminals of a younger age are kept at the Hospital of S. Michele in Rome till they are of age; and are there employed in spinning, and fed on bread and water.

The allowance to each slave is three pounds of bread a day; and fifty-five pounds of beans or calavances to each galley, with which they generally make a kind of soup once in two or three days, and they are allowed two pounds and a half of oil to boil with their beans. At Easter, Christmas, and Carnival,

they are allowed one pound of beef and half a pint of wine a man, and twenty-five pounds of rice to a galley.

For their clothing, they have once in two years, a striped woollen capotto and waistcoat, two shirts, two pairs of canvas breeches, and a woollen cap; and every year, two feet and a half of woollen cloth to wrap round their legs instead of stockings. The yearly expense of each slave for maintenance, clothing, and chains, is computed at fifteen Roman crowns and eighty-seven baiocs, about £3 13s. 9d.

At the time of my being at Civita-vecchia, three of the galleys were out on a cruise, and two only remained. Through the whole night there was great silence (as I lay in a felucca close to them), though about four hundred were chained in each of the galleys.

The slaves here are constantly employed, and have a portion of what they earn for themselves, being paid according to their abilities and the nature of their work. For sawing in the arsenal, they are paid twopence a day each; for working as masons, twopence halfpenny; for carrying stones and mortar, only a penny. Such as work at the canvas and calico manufactories, are paid from twopence to eightpence, according to the quality of the work, etc. At the public works they are allowed an hour for dinner, and in summer-time an hour for breakfast.[1]

Here is a spacious hospital on shore for the slaves. None were in irons. All was clean. In the centre of the great room in this infirmary was an altar for public worship. A particular room was appropriated for such as had cutaneous disorders, and another for consumptive patients. In this country, the physicians are persuaded that the consumption is a contagious disorder. Patients afflicted with it in hospitals have a separate ward. The same precautions are used to prevent infection as in the plague. When this disorder has been in private houses, the furniture is destroyed, and the rooms are scraped and fumigated, before they are again inhabited.

NAPLES. The principal prison in the great and populous city of Naples[2] is La Vicaria, under the courts of justice. It

[1] For the preceding account I am indebted to our countryman Mr. Denham, who has the superintendence of the Pope's galleys.

[2] An account is taken every year of the inhabitants of this city; and at Easter 1777 their number, exclusive of soldiers and marines, was 350,061, viz.: males, 170,574; females, 165,642; priests, 3303; monks, 4231; nuns, 6311. Of this number there were born in the year immediately preceding, 6029 males, and 5571 females. The deaths in that year were 9553.

contained, when I was there, according to the gaoler's account, nine hundred and eighty prisoners. In about eight large rooms communicating with one another, there were five hundred and forty sickly objects, who had access to a court surrounded by buildings so high as to prevent the circulation of air. In this court was a recess, under arcades like those that were under the chapel at Newgate. Some of the prisoners were employed in knitting, and others in making shoes; but most of them were entirely without employment. In six chambers, which opened into a spacious hall, were many beds for such as could pay for them. Adjoining was a chapel, and a spacious infirmary for the whole prison; in which were forty persons, in single beds, with sheets, coverlets, etc.[1] In seven close offensive rooms were thirty-one prisoners, almost without clothes on account of the great heat; and in six dirty rooms communicating with one another were fifty women. Of all the prisoners, one man only was in irons, in a dungeon, near a small chapel which is allotted to the condemned before execution.

The bread was good: the daily allowance to each was twenty-two ounces.

There were three other prisons: one contained eighty prisoners, another near sixty, the other but eleven.

The galleys were moored about ten feet from the shore. In the first were two hundred and sixty slaves; in the second two hundred and ninety-eight; in the third two hundred and seventy; and in the fourth, four hundred; most of them stout and healthy. All were chained two and two together. Their bread was hard, but sweet. About twenty-six ounces a day was allowed them; and when employed in the arsenal and other public works, they have an extraordinary allowance of near a penny a day. After escapes, if they are retaken, their whole term is doubled. Each galley has a chaplain, and public worship on Sundays and holy days.

In the seraglio, or great alms-house,[2] there were about five hundred and fifty prisoners (*condannati*) in eight or nine rooms. Many of them work as labourers on this great building, with chains varying according to the terms of their confinement, and

[1] In visiting the prisons of Italy, I observed, that in general great attention was paid to the sick; but I could not avoid remarking, that too little care was taken to prevent sickness.

From the heat of the climate, one might imagine the gaol-fever would be very likely to prevail; but I did not find it in any of the prisons.

[2] The front of this building already extends near thirteen hundred feet, and probably it will be enlarged.

have the extra allowance just mentioned, with five ounces of flour for soup. In these rooms were shoemakers at work, as in some of the galleys, but most of the prisoners had no employment.[1]

The galley-slaves have a hospital on the shore fronting the bay, entirely appropriated to them and their guards.[2] It has four or five spacious and airy wards, cleaner than most of the other hospitals in this city. One of these rooms is only for the guard of the marine. The patients are distinguished into three classes; very ill—sick—and recovering. Great attention is paid to them; and they are allowed good bread in sufficient quantity.

The great and crowded hospitals of S. Apostoli and L'Annunziazione, have wards appropriated to the cure of wounded persons.[3]

MILAN. There are two prisons called L'Argastro, and La Casa di Correzione, which do honour to the country. Both are for criminals, condemned either for a term of years, or for life. The most atrocious work in chains in the street; the others, only in the house.

In L'Argastro there were three hundred and fifty-nine prisoners, healthy and strong. A considerable number of them were at work in public: they water the streets and public walks (at the expense of the city) there being nineteen small wagons for that purpose; six men draw, and one attends behind chained. Others repair the pavements, etc. But in the house there were at work shoemakers, tailors, smiths, wheelwrights, cabinet-makers, turners, nailers, ropemakers, leather-dressers, painters

[1] As no regular plan had been settled for the employment of these slaves, the king lately made a present of three hundred of such of them as had been condemned for life, to the Maltese.

[2] On my telling the surgeon, that in some countries a part of each galley is made a hospital (alluding in my mind to our hulks); he replied, "That must soon make the whole a hospital."

[3] The frequency of assaults and assassinations in Italy is generally known. Many of the common people seem to be ignorant or insensible of the atrociousness of the crime of murder. The criminals in prison express, with seeming satisfaction of mind, "that though they stabbed they did not rob." If we consider that wards and even hospitals appropriated to the wounded are filled with patients, that the prisons are crowded, and that many are continually taking refuge on the steps of churches, and examine our accounts in *Janssen's Lists* and the *Judges' Returns*, we may reckon that there are more murders committed in a year in the city of Naples or Rome, than in Great Britain and Ireland. Does not this prove that the English are not naturally cruel? And might not arguments be derived from hence, for the revisal and repeal of some of our sanguinary laws? The Marquis Beccaria justly remarks, in chap. xxviii, that "the death of a criminal is a less efficacious method of deterring others, than the continued example of a man deprived of his liberty." And that "the punishment of death is pernicious to society, from the example of barbarity it affords."

on gauze, spinners, and weavers. Many, here learn trades; so that there is a probability, that when their term is finished, they will become useful members of society; which should be the grand object in all such houses. They receive for themselves one-third of what they earn, and two-thirds go to the house.

Their dormitory is a spacious room, with three stages in it on which they lie. In the centre of the ceiling are four large apertures, and sixteen small ones. A prisoner, whose employment was drawing designs and patterns, gave me a plan of the rooms and courts in this prison.

There are two courts, a pump, and running water for washing the linen of the prisoners, which they shift once a week. I observed to one of the prisoners, that they were cleaner than most working men: he replied, "Or else the confinement would be intolerable." The daily allowance to each is thirty-five ounces of good bread, and a mess of good vegetable soup. They have two hours for dinner and repose. All had a chain to each leg. If any escape and are retaken, the whole term is renewed, and half as much more.

In this house there is a hospital, a chapel, and an apartment for the chaplain.

The Casa di Correzione is now (1778) building, on a noble and spacious plan. The dormitory and the workrooms for the men are finished and occupied. The two workrooms for the women are large and lofty (twenty-three feet wide and twenty-five feet high); and in each there are five large windows, placed high above the floor. At one corner of these rooms are stone basins, with water laid on to them. In one of the men's workrooms there were forty looms employed weaving linen, cotton, and diaper: in which also, and in two others opening into it, were warping and twisting-mills, and winding-wheels. Under these was a calender: and some were employed in beating (not carding) cotton. In a detached temporary building I saw a prisoner employed in weaving gauze; who (as I conjectured from the great resort to him) was reckoned curious in this art. With the assistance of some that were employed with him, he kept four looms at work. Other prisoners were bleaching the cloth manufactured in the house: and some were at work as masons and labourers, in this great building.

Over the workrooms is the great hall or dormitory, the room for boys, and the infirmary. The dormitory is lightsome, airy, and clean, and appears evidently to be an improvement on that of San Michele at Rome. It consists of a great room (one

hundred and twenty-four feet by thirty-one). On each side of this room or hall are three stone galleries, two feet eight inches wide, with iron rails. The chambers are numbered, amounting to one hundred and twenty: these are all similar, nine feet two inches by eight feet two; they have one window outward, three feet by two; and one towards the great room, two feet five inches by one foot five:[1] they are furnished with a bed and bedding, a stool, and a vault. In the infirmary, and the dormitory for boys, as well as in the great hall, there were stone sinks and water laid on. Near the end of the room there is an altar with a cupola over it. On one side of the altar is the dormitory for boys, and on the other the infirmary. And all together make the figure of a cross, which is the form of many hospitals in Italy and other Roman Catholic countries.

There were near three hundred prisoners in this house; twenty of whom were chained to two benches in the dormitory, but at the same time employed in spinning, or making and mending clothes. Adjoining to the workrooms there are two or three rooms for warehouses. All the prisoners work in irons.

"Genoa Hospital. The benefactors to this hospital are distinguished by the different postures and attitudes in which their statues are placed, in the wards, and on the staircase according to the different sums which they have contributed. Many are placed standing; but a hundred thousand crowns entitles to a chair. I observed a statue which had one of the feet under the chair; and was told that the reason was, that the benefactor honoured by it had contributed only ninety thousand crowns. The statues in the wards are now injurious by harbouring dust. From a regard to the health of patients, I wish to see plain white walls in hospitals, and no article of ornamental furniture introduced." [From *An Account of Lazarettos*, p. 57.]

Before the cantons, I will mention, what is not indeed any part of Switzerland, the little Republic of

## GENEVA

In the prison, which was formerly the Bishop's palace, at my first visit, there were only five criminals; none of them in irons.

[1] I make an apology for being so minute in my description of prisons in England, and may I not make the same apology for the minuteness in my accounts of foreign prisons and hospitals. I should never have given myself the trouble of taking the dimensions of rooms, were it not that I hoped to give a clearer idea of the buildings, and that perhaps some hints might be derived for the improvement of our own.

Their allowance about sixpence a day: for which they have a pound of good bread, some soup, and half a pint of wine. They looked healthy. Here, as in the Swiss cantons, men and women are kept separate. For some years past, no capital punishment. If a criminal flies from justice, they call him in form three days; and after trial, execute him in effigy.

There seldom are any debtors. A creditor must allow his debtor in prison as much as felons have from the public: upon failure, the gaoler gives notice, and then discharges the prisoner. Besides, there are sumptuary laws in this State. And though the government is in general mild, there is a severe law against bankrupts, and insolvents; which renders incapable of all honours, and deprives of freedom, not only the debtor himself, but his children after him: except such of them as pay their quota of the debts.[1]

## SWITZERLAND

In entering Switzerland from Geneva, a traveller will be surprised to meet frequently with a gallows on the road, if he be not informed that almost every *seigneurie* or bailiwick has a prison, and possesses the power of trying criminals, and capitally convicting them. I visited one of these prisons. It belonged to Mr. Baron de Prangins, and consisted of four rooms at the top of his castle.[2] It was empty.

In those of the cantons to which I went, felons have each a room to themselves, "that they may not," said the keepers, "tutor one another." None were in irons: they are kept in rooms more or less strong and lightsome, according to the crimes they are charged with. But the prisons are in general very strong. The rooms are numbered, and the keys marked with the same numbers. In most of them a German stove. The common allowance, sixpence a day. In several cantons

[1] I hoped to have found here no torture-chambers, but I had only the pleasure to hear that none had suffered in them these twenty-five years. They are thus restrained by the thirty-second article in the *Réglement de l'illustre Médiation pour la Pacification des troubles de la République de Genève*, published in 1738. "Les accusés et criminels ne pourront être appliqués à la Question ou Torture, que préalablement ils n'ayent été, par jugement définitif, condamnés à mort."

[2] I observed the same thing at the castle in the Isle of Gorgona in Italy, where there are two rooms at the top of the building for prisons. This is different from the ancient cruel mode of confining prisoners in pits and dungeons of castles.

there were no prisoners of this sort. The principal reason of it is, the great care that is taken to give children, even the poorest, a moral and religious education. Another thing which contributes to the same intention, is the laudable policy of speedy justice. A criminal has notice of his death, not the manner of it, but a short time before he is to suffer: and he is then indulged with his choice of food, wine, etc. Women are not hanged, but beheaded. Every new executioner has a new sword; and in the arsenal at Bern I saw several old ones hung up in order. In the houses of correction, many of the prisoners were women; whom I saw at work.

The most numerous prisoners are the galley-slaves; improperly so-called, for there are no galleys belonging to Switzerland: though some few are sent to Marseilles.

LAUSANNE. At Lausanne I visited the prison, in which there were at that time no prisoners. There were dungeons; but on entering each of them, the keeper observed, that we were not yet upon the ground, but there were cellars underneath. On conversing with Dr. Tissot, he expressed his surprise at our gaol-distemper; said, "I should not find it in Switzerland": and added, that "he had not heard of its being anywhere but in England." When I mentioned the late Act of Parliament for preserving the health of our prisoners, he approved of it highly, especially the clause which required whitewashing the rooms, and keeping them clean. I did not (as the doctor said) find the gaol-fever in Switzerland.

BERN. I revisited all the prisons at Bern, but here also I found none confined except in the two houses of correction. One of these houses is for citizens, in which the men and women were spinning, for they never work abroad.

In the other (the Schallenhaus) there were, in 1776, one hundred and twenty-four slaves; and in 1778, one hundred and forty-one. They have not each a room to themselves; but there is some distinction of the more and less criminal, both in their rooms and work.[1] The women's wards are totally separate from those of the men. Most of the men are employed in

[1] An old keeper having left the door of one of the men's wards unlocked, twelve prisoners forced the outer door and walked off; the people who happened to see them, suffering them to pass, because they supposed they were going to work in the streets. When four or five of them some time after were retaken and carried to their old lodgings, the magistrates ordered that they should *not be punished*, considering that every one must be desirous of regaining liberty. As they had not been guilty of assault or violence in making their escape, the punishment fell on the keeper for his negligence.

cleaning and watering the streets, and public walks; removing the rubbish of buildings; and the snow and ice in winter. The city is one of the cleanest I have seen. Four or five are chained to a small wagon, and draw; others, more at liberty, sweep, load, etc. The convicts are known by an iron collar, with a hook projecting above their heads: weight about five pounds: I saw one riveted on a criminal in about two minutes. They work in summer from seven to eleven, and from one to six; in winter from eight to eleven, and from one to four. I asked the men, "whether they would choose to work so, or be confined within doors?" "Much rather," they said, "work thus." The less criminal are in separate wards: these work within doors, spinning, etc., in a large room; and have not the iron collar.[1] Fifteen I was sorry to see miserable for want of employment.[2] The prison is not commodious, nor kept very clean. The daily allowance, two pounds of bread; and twice a day a pint and a half of soup, made of barley, beans, etc., which they fetch from the great hospital. In their leisure hours they make and mend shoes, make straw hats, etc., and deliver them as they pass on at work. They are not suffered to practise gaming of any sort. Indeed this is forbidden to all the common people; as playing for any considerable sum is to those of higher rank. The keeper and turnkey are to see that the prisoners perform their devotions every morning and evening. The chaplains pray with them and instruct them on Sunday and Thursday. Once a month other clergymen superintend the service. No visitant admitted on Sunday. Thus a principal object here is to make them better men.

Basil. At Basil, the gaol for felons is in one of the towers. No prisoners; but many rooms ready with clean straw and blankets. Each prisoner (they said) has a room to himself, in which he is constantly shut up, except when conducted to the council-chamber for examination. One of the strongest cells is in a room by the great clock, and is about six feet high: the (trap) door is in the flat roof. the prisoner goes down by a ladder, which is then taken up: his victuals are put in at a wicket on one side. When I was in the room, and took notice of the

[1] I saw them bring in their week's work, and (after it was examined) receive twenty-seven pounds of flax for the following week. At that time some of the townspeople purchased the flax that had been spun, and paid for it to an inspector who lives near the prison.

[2] Some employment is absolutely necessary; and therefore, where the crimes are of such a nature as to allow or require indulgence, it should be given them by a shorter term of confinement, or in some other way. I have seen this false indulgence to prisoners in several places.

uncommon strength of it, the gaoler told me a prisoner had lately made his escape from it. I could not devise what method he took, but heard it was this. He had a spoon for soup, which he sharpened to cut out a piece from the timber of his room: then by practice he acquired the knack of striking his door, just when the great clock struck, which drowned the noise: and in fifteen days he forced all the bolts, etc. But attempting to let himself down from the vast height by a rope which he found, the rope failed him; and by falling he broke so many of his bones, that the surgeons pronounced his recovery impossible. But his bones were set; and with proper care he did recover, and was pardoned.

Zurich. At Zurich there is a prison for capital crimes (situated in the middle of the river);[1] and a house of correction, formerly a convent. In the latter, which is convenient and spacious, there were about sixty prisoners. Nineteen of the men worked abroad for the citizens, who paid them for their work, but not so much as to other labourers. The rest were spinning within doors, or working at some trade. I observed one ingenious woman colouring botanical prints. They have a chapel, in which they attend divine worship, and are catechised every Friday. Once a day, such of them as do not work abroad, by the advice of one of the physicians in this city, walk under arcades in a large square court, during which time their rooms are thoroughly aired, the doors and windows being thrown open. They have good bedding;[2] and they are well supplied with wheaten bread and soup every day, but no meat.

The prisoners, on entrance, have the house clothes; and their own are hung up, with their names, and the time of their commitment, noted upon them. On inquiring of one of the magistrates, if they banished any of their criminals, he seemed surprised at the question, and asked, if I did not see in the mountains many manufactories?

From further consideration of the excellent manner in which houses of correction are conducted in this country, as well as at Bremen, Hamburg, Holland, etc., by regents or inspectors, whose motive for attending to their duty cannot

[1] Here was only one prisoner. The first room was for examination; in it were five different weights for torture, and if we may depend on tradition, the heaviest, which is one hundred and twenty pounds, was used in torturing a burgomaster of this city.

[2] A salutary custom of bringing out the beds in fine weather, I see practised in some of the best houses in this country; which is not properly attended to in England.

be large salaries;[1] I am still more confirmed in the opinion I before advanced that no mercenary views should be held forth to the persons to whom such an important trust is committed. Nor can I doubt, that in our own country, as well as abroad, men might readily be found, who merely from a sense of duty, and love to humanity and their country, would faithfully and diligently execute such an office, with no other reward than the approbation of their fellow-citizens, and of their own consciences. In fact, we find, that there is no want of respectable persons among us, to undertake the government of hospitals and houses of industry upon these principles.

## GERMANY

From Switzerland I returned to Germany in 1778, in order to visit some prisons which I had not seen in my former journeys, particularly those in the free or imperial cities.

Augsburg. At Augsburg, the prison is on the side of a hill, at the back of the town house. It consists of many cachots or small rooms, on three different floors. There is one for examination, and two for the engines of torture. There are also two dark dungeons for such as have been convicted of witchcraft: but they are in a very ruinous condition, and seem to have been a long time without inhabitants. The condemned are brought three days before their execution into two light rooms, which open into a Roman Catholic chapel: where, however, if a prisoner be a Protestant, a Lutheran minister is permitted to attend him.

Munich. At Munich or München, there are two prisons for criminals. One, in the town house, had in it six men and two women prisoners. In a dark damp dungeon down seventeen steps, were the instruments of torture.

The other, La Prison de la Cour, consisted of about fifteen cells, twelve feet by seven, and a black torture-room. In this room there is a table covered with black cloth and fringe. Six

[1] "The salaries of the several magistrates are so inconsiderable, as not to offer any temptation on the side of pecuniary emolument: a sense of honour, a spirit of ambition, the desire of serving their country, together with that personal credit which is derived from exercising any office in the administration, are the principal motives which actuate the candidates to solicit a share in the magistracy."—Mr. Coxe's *Sketches of Switzerland*, p. 463.

chairs for the magistrates and secretaries, covered also with black cloth, are elevated two steps above the floor, and painted black. Various engines of torture, some of which are stained with blood, hang round the room. When the criminals suffer, the candles are lighted; for the windows are shut close, to prevent their cries being heard abroad. Two crucifixes are presented to the view of the unhappy objects. But it is too shocking to relate their different modes of cruelty. Even women are not spared.

NURENBURG. At Nurenburg, the prison is under the town-house. There are fifteen steps down to the gaoler's kitchen. The apertures for admitting light into the passages of the dungeons, are level with the ground. This is one of the worst prisons I ever saw. The dark unhealthy dungeons, and the dismal torture-chamber, do no honour to the magistracy of this city. The gaoler makes use of a low trick to prevent the escape of his prisoners, by terrifying them with the apprehensions of falling under the power of witches. In several of the German gaols there are dungeons for those that are accused of witchcraft, but they seem to have been long disused; and I hope increasing light and good sense will soon entirely banish the fears of witches, and consequently the witches themselves.

Over the gate of the house of correction at Nurenburg is this inscription:

Hic criminum frequentia
Mortalium dementia
Compescitur clementia
Salva fori sententia.

The prisoners were employed in grinding spectacle-glasses. The surplus of what they earn above forty creutzers, or eighteen-pence a week each, they are allowed for themselves. The men grind seven glasses in each hand. Some grind four hundred in a week, by which they earn fifty-two creutzers at thirteen for a hundred, and consequently each earns for himself twelve creutzers a week.[1] Some of the women were working gold and silver lace on cushions.

SCHWABACH. At Schwabach, in the margraviate of Anspach, is a large house of correction, in which were ninety-three prisoners. Some men here also were grinding glasses in two large rooms;

[1] That this is a very unhealthy business, is evident from the countenances of those whom I saw thus employed, and from the disagreeable sensations I always received from the dust in the rooms where they were grinding. The medical gentlemen prescribe bleeding and physic to these persons, two or three times a year.

and others, in different apartments, were employed in polishing steel buttons for clothes, wire-drawing, and making spinning-wheels: and I was informed that twelve were at work on the road. The women were spinning, the daily task enjoined to each was six creutzers, or twopence halfpenny.

The greatest attention to cleanliness is inculcated; bathing-rooms are provided for the prisoners; and the expense of washing for them is reckoned an object not to be regarded. The necessity for sick wards for both sexes is pointed out.

It is remarked to be "a very false notion, that a man who lives upon bread and water can work hard and be kept in health"; accordingly, a daily allowance of hot provisions is ordered for the criminals.

It is mentioned as an essential point to preserve order, and prevent abuses, "that one of the city magistrates should every week in rotation visit the house, and closely inspect everything relative to its management."

Bayreuth. In a large house of correction near Bayreuth, in Franconia, the men were all working on marble, which is found in the neighbouring mountains. Many were employed at the polishing bench, two on each slab. Others were variously engaged, in finishing, filing, or carving; or in cutting proofs or samples at the wheels; or in working on tobacco-boxes, snuff-boxes, etc. A large warehouse contained the goods they had finished. Some specimens of the several sorts of the marble I brought home. In summer, many of them are employed in sawing without doors; but in winter, they work in rooms: for were they to attempt this work abroad, a sudden frost might endanger the materials, but would certainly render it impossible to use the saw. The pale countenances of the prisoners were a sign that their work was laborious, and that the keeper had the whole profit.

Würtzburg. In the house of correction at Würtzburg were fifty-four men and thirty-six women, employed in a well-regulated woollen manufactory. In one part of the house they were spinning; in another, picking and carding wool; and in another, weaving wide cloth for the soldiers, and also stocking and waistcoat pieces. The wheels were larger than our spinning-wheels, the diameter being four feet. Here, and at most houses of this sort, are large looms, six feet seven inches wide, and two persons work at each loom. In a warehouse, the manufacturer (for all such houses have a manufacturer) showed me several pieces of cloth for the under officers, the artillery, the soldiers,

and the hospital or poorhouse. The women were all spinning or carding in one large room. As their spinning was of various kinds, there was a room with cupboards, where each person's work was laid up separately. The task for each man or woman was eight creutzers, or threepence halfpenny a day. Here is a Roman Catholic chapel, and the priest lives in the house. Roman Catholic prisoners are sometimes sent hither from other countries, for their term of confinement, as those of a different persuasion are sent to Bayreuth.

HANAU. At Hanau, the galley-slaves (so-called) are distinguished into *honnêtes* and *déshonnêtes*. The former are condemned for three, four, seven, nine, fourteen years, according to their crimes; but the term is sometimes shortened on account of good behaviour. These wear a brown uniform; and a small chain from the girdle to one leg. The latter are such as have committed capital offences.

The *déshonnêtes* are not doomed to despair: but for good behaviour are sometimes promoted to the rank of *honnêtes*. I conversed with one, whom I found very cheerful for a late advancement of that kind: in consequence of it, he was working on the road.

MANHEIM. At Manheim, Monsieur Babo, counsellor to the regency, very politely gave orders to show me every room of La Maison de Force. Prisoners committed to this house are commonly received in form with what is called the *bien-venu* (welcome). A machine is brought out, in which are fastened their neck, hands, and feet. Then they are stripped; and have, according as the magistrate orders—the *grand venu* of twenty to thirty stripes—the *demi venu* of eighteen to twenty—or the *petit venu* of twelve to fifteen: after this they kiss the threshold and go in. Some are treated with the same compliment at discharge. The like ceremony is observed at many other towns in Germany.

MENTZ. In the house of correction all was neat, and showed the attention of the regency. On my taking notice to the keeper how clean his prison was, he said, "How can it be otherwise, when we have so many women prisoners? Surely they must keep the house clean?" Most of the flour in the city is ground at a mill in this prison; at which the delinquents work two hours in the morning, and two in the afternoon. Over the door is carved a wagon drawn by two stags, two lions, and two wild boars; with an inscription explaining the device, which is, that if even wild beasts can be tamed to the yoke,

we should not despair of reclaiming irregular men. I saw the same bas relief at one or two other houses of correction.

Liège. The two prisons (distinguished by the names of the old and the new) near La Porte de St. Leonard in Liège, are on the ramparts. In two rooms of the old prison I saw six cages made very strong with iron hoops, four of which were empty. (The dimensions were seven feet by six feet nine inches, and six feet and a half high. On one side was an aperture of six inches by four, for giving in the victuals.) These were dismal places of confinement, but I soon found worse. In descending deep below ground from the gaoler's apartments, I heard the moans of the miserable wretches in the dark dungeons. The sides and roof were all stone. In wet weather, water from the fosses gets into them, and has greatly damaged the floors. Each of them had two small apertures, one for admitting air, and another, with a shutter over it strongly bolted, for putting in food to the prisoners. One dungeon larger than the rest was appropriated to the sick. In looking into this, with a candle, I discovered a stove, and felt some surprise at this little escape of humanity from the men who constructed these cells.

The dungeons in the new prison are abodes of misery still more shocking; and confinement in them so overpowers human nature, as sometimes irrecoverably to take away the senses. I heard the cries of the distracted as I went down to them. One woman, however, I saw, who (as I was told) had sustained this horrid confinement forty-seven years without becoming distracted.

The cries of the sufferers in the torture-chamber may be heard by passengers without, and guards are placed to prevent them from stopping and listening. A physician and surgeon always attend when the torture is applied; and on a signal given by a bell the gaoler brings in wine, vinegar, and water to prevent the sufferers from expiring. "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." Thus in the Spanish inquisition, the physician and surgeon attend to determine the utmost extremity of suffering without expiring under the torture.

I will only add, that in this prison there are rooms appropriated to prisoners *en pension*; that is, to such as are confined by the magistrates, at the desire of their parents, guardians or relations. A shocking practice! which prevails also in some of the neighbouring countries.

## AUSTRIAN FLANDERS

In the Austrian Netherlands I found the prisons in general clean; and no sickness prevailing in any one of them: and yet few of the prisons have a court: in most of them every prisoner is confined to his room. In some places, as at Antwerp, etc., the allowance to criminals is scanty; a pound and a half of bread a day, and a pound of butter a week: but the deficiency is fully made up by supplies from the monasteries, etc. Debtors very few: they are alimented by their creditors.

ANTWERP. In the prison at Antwerp there are two rooms for citizens; and upstairs there is a cage, about six feet and a half square, into which criminals are put before the torture. A criminal, while he suffers the torture, is clothed in a long shirt, has his eyes bound, and a physician and surgeon attend him: and when a confession is forced from him, and wine has been given him, he is required to sign his confession; and about forty-eight hours afterwards he is executed.

In a small dungeon is a stone seat like some I have seen in old prison towers, in which it is said that formerly prisoners were suffocated by brimstone, when their families wished to avoid the disgrace of a public execution. No person here remembers an instance of this kind; but about thirty years ago there was a private execution in the prison. In this prison in 1778 there were only two prisoners. In November 1781 there were three prisoners for debt; their allowance was three halfpence a day.

The clergy have a prison in this city which is an old tower, three stories high, to which persons who come under their cognisance for adultery, incest, etc., are committed.

15 June, 1783, there was not one prisoner in this city.

In 1778 here was a house of correction. The river ran under it; on one side were the keeper's apartments; on the other, the warehouse and the room for the magistrates. On three sides of a paved court there were thirteen cells for the men, and over them were the rooms for the women. On one side of the court were the young women who were put in by their parents or relations; and on the other, the criminals. All the men were employed in spinning cotton; so were some of the women, and the rest in making lace. A pound of cotton at a time was delivered to each; for spinning which, thirteen sous [1] were paid.

[1] A sou is about a halfpenny.

I found, by the books, that at first coming, some did not earn more than seven or eight sous in a week, but soon after they earned from twelve to fourteen. Rye bread (to the value of half a stiver[1] each meal) and water, was their allowance; and whatever they had more than this, they were required to pay for out of their earnings. They were obliged to put on clean linen every week, towards washing which each paid a sou. The stoves were heated twice a day, and candles and lamps were provided, at the expense of the magistrates.

There were three rooms for the ungovernable. One of them (the penitentiary room) had a floor made of pieces of wood laid edgeways four inches asunder. The prisoner was chained in the middle of this floor, so that he could move but a few steps; and being allowed no shoes or stockings, whether he stood or lay down, he must have been in a very uneasy posture. This room therefore was dreaded by the prisoners. The other rooms were abodes so dark and solitary, as to be almost equally dreadful.

The men were never suffered to go out, except on Sundays and other holy days, when they went to the chapel, in which they had seats below. The women sat in a gallery, with a lattice of wood before them. Here, and also in the prison, a table of regulations was hung up, which was read in public by the chaplain, the first Sunday after the entrance of every prisoner. These regulations consisted of thirty-six articles, from which I have taken the following extracts:

The prisoners must be submissive to the keeper and to his wife; and if they think themselves injured, must complain to the regents.—The times fixed for rising are, at half after six in the morning from 1 December to 15 February, and all the rest of the year at five, or half after five; but on Sundays and holy days at six.—The times of meals are fixed at seven, twelve, and seven. The prisoners are allowed, at their own expense, at breakfast a pint of tea; and at dinner soup or broth, or a pint of tea or small beer, and at supper the same quantity of tea or beer; and on Sundays and other holy days a certain quantity of boiled meat: and every week a pound of butter, and fruit to the value of half a stiver.—Every day the keeper is obliged to prepare two sorts of soup or broth, and at seven in the morning to give the prisoners their choice of either sort, or none.—After service on Sundays, the men are permitted to walk in the court, and the women in the gallery half an hour, under the inspection of the keeper and officers.—They forfeit half a stiver, every time they curse or swear, or make a disturbance in the chapel; and also every time they are not up in half an hour after they are awakened by the keeper, and for every hour they sleep longer.—If they persist

[1] A stiver is about a penny.

in insulting the keeper or his wife after admonition, they pay a stiver, and are also punished by having their doors or windows fast closed up.—If they make any noise or disturbance after nine at night to break the rest of their fellow-prisoners, they are ordered to forfeit a schelling, and to be punished at the discretion of the regents: who are likewise empowered to make such alterations as they think proper in the rules: and in case of sickness or old age, to give indulgences to the prisoners, with respect to their diet, times of rising, etc.

In November 1781 the regulations still hung up in the chapel, though the prisoners were removed to Vilvorde.

VILVORDE. The house of correction which was building in 1778, near Vilvorde, for the provinces of Austrian Brabant, is upon as large a scale as any structure of the kind that I have seen. It is situated near the great canal leading to Brussels; and is almost surrounded by water. The ground plot is rectangular, except a sweep before the court of the governor's house. The longer sides are about two hundred and ten yards; the shorter, about one hundred and sixty-seven. At the back of one of the longer sides, fronting the west, I counted eighty windows on a floor, each two feet by one. There are the same number opposite, looking inwards towards the courts. Each of these belongs to a separate room or cell, near six feet and a half by five and a half, and eight feet high; and a long passage eight feet and a half wide runs through each floor, into which all the opposite rooms open. Two floors of this side were finished, making three hundred and twenty rooms; there were two more unfinished, of the same number of rooms. Each of the two shorter sides has one hundred and seventy-six rooms, of the same size as the others, and on as many floors. Part of these sides were finished; so that, including some rooms on each side of the governor's house, about five hundred were ready of the nine hundred and ninety-two. On some vacant ground at the shorter sides, more rooms will be built if wanted. Of so great importance is it wisely judged by these provinces, to keep every prisoner at night by himself, that this vast number of rooms is contrived that each may lodge one person only.

On each side the gate of the court before the governor's house, is a porter's lodge. Prisoners pass this way to their respective wards behind the house. Those committed for life are quite separate from those who are for a limited term: and men totally so from women; not only in their wards, workrooms, and refectories; but also in two distinct chapels. These chapels are octagons of about thirty-five feet; and on each floor the

prisoners have a room looking into them. The workrooms are numerous; about forty feet by twenty: some upstairs; others underground for weaving fine linen: but no prisoners sleep underground. Staircases all stone, six feet wide: some dark cells for confining the refractory. A kitchen forty-seven feet by thirty-four: bakehouse, and slaughter-house large in proportion, and commodious. Convenient apartments for several chaplains: and proper rooms for a military guard. Two spacious infirmaries are designed.

In December 1781 there were in this new house of correction a hundred and sixty-eight men and eighty-six women, clothed in a uniform of light-coloured cloth. They are divided into three classes; and the class to which each of them belongs, together with the number that distinguishes his room, is marked in red, on his clothes and linen. The principal employment of both sexes was spinning cotton; but some of the men were weaving, others making clothes, or shoes; and some of the women were spinning flax, others mending the linen, or making lace. Most of the floors are of a bad plaster, and cannot be washed. There are separate workrooms and refectories to each class, which I found offensive, the windows being all shut though the weather was calm and fine. But the passages, into which all the bedrooms open, were much more offensive. When I first saw this house, I conjectured this would be the case, and though I took the plan, I did not choose to publish it.

While I was there a prisoner was brought in. He was immediately shaved—examined by the surgeon—washed—clothed in the uniform—and then conducted to his class.

There is a room for the magistrates, but on account of its distance from Brussels they too seldom attend. The countenances of the prisoners evidently bespoke inattention and neglect.

The regulations for this house were published at Brussels, 11 February, 1779, in two edicts; the first for the direction of the governors, in French and Low Dutch; the other for the discipline of the house, in French, containing sixty articles, which are well worthy of attention, in any country where similar houses are erected.

GHENT. Here is a prison belonging to the rich monastery of Benedictines in the Abbey of St. Peter. There were thirty-three friars in the house. This fraternity has many lordships, and part of the city in their jurisdiction. The prison joins to the abbot's courthouse. Three dreary dungeons down nineteen steps: a little window in each: no prisoners. I went down in

1778; but my noting the dimensions of the windows, etc., so enraged the keeper, that he would not indulge my curiosity any farther. 30 May, 1783, I found one debtor; and was informed that there were three prisoners in the dungeons.

There is at Ghent a new prison building by the States of Austrian Flanders. It is a house of correction for those provinces (as that at Vilvorde for Austrian Brabant) and is called La Maison de Force.[1] It is situated near a canal. The plan is an octagon ; only four sides finished: in one of them were, in 1775, one hundred and fifty-nine men criminals: in 1776, one hundred and ninety-one. Another of the sides is for women, of whom there were fifty-nine. In the middle of this court is a basin of water, for washing the linen of the house.

On each of the four floors there is a corridor, or arcade, six feet nine inches wide, quite open to the air of the court; which, however, is not attended with any inconvenience, even in winter. In the recess of every corridor, except the lowest, is a range of bedrooms, six feet ten inches by five feet four, and seven feet eight inches high: the doorway two feet. These are uniformly furnished with a bedstead (six feet and a half by two and a half), a straw bed, a mattress, a pillow, a pair of sheets, two blankets in winter, and one in summer. Each room has a little bench, and a shutter to the lattice window (nineteen inches by fifteen, in the door) which, when opened and turned down, serves for a table. In the wall is a little cupboard, two feet by one, and ten inches deep. All the rooms are vaulted, to prevent fire from running from story to story. No person is on any pretence admitted into the bedroom of another. They have a clean shirt once a week, and clean sheets once a month. The women have not separate rooms. Some of theirs are ten feet and a half by nine and a half.

In order to the admission of a prisoner, previous notice must be given by the city or province that sends him. When he comes, he is shaved and washed: a surgeon examines him; and if healthy, he is clothed with the uniform of the house, viz., a linen coat and breeches, and cloth waistcoat, which are marked with the number of his room; to it he is conducted by one of the most orderly of the prisoners; who is appointed to that service, and who also acquaints him with the rules of the house. Commitment from one year to twenty or more, according to their crimes.

A bell is rung in the morning to summon the prisoners into the dining-room; in the summer at five; in winter the hour varies

[1] This prison is still in use [Ed.].

with the length of the days. Half an hour after the bell rings, their names are called over; and they go to prayers in a chapel. They are then allowed half an hour to breakfast. At noon they have two hours for dinner, making their beds (which in fair weather they bring out to air) and for recreation. I was present during the whole time the men criminals were at dinner, and much admired the regularity, decency, and order, with which the whole was conducted. Everything was done at a word given by a director; no noise or confusion appeared; and this company of near one hundred and ninety stout criminals was governed with as much apparent ease, as the most sober and well-disposed assembly in civil society. At night they have an hour for supper, etc. The bell gives notice of all these successive hours: it is rung at a window over the gateway by a sentinel, who there overlooks the whole court; and, should there be any disturbance, is to give the alarm to a company who keep guard. There are eight small rooms (*cachots*) without beds, for the punishment of the refractory; but I always found them empty.

On the ground-floors of the building are workrooms. Those for the men are too small for the looms, etc. The women's workroom is one hundred and seventy feet long, twenty-six wide, and nine to the springing of the arch. In this, many were spinning and combing wool, mending linen, etc. Others were washing the linen in places proper for that purpose.

An exact account is kept of every circumstance relating to each man's work, in a book that has fourteen columns.

1. Contains the names of prisoners.
2. The sort of stuff on which each man is employed; as shalloon, cloth, dimity, etc.
3. The number that is marked on the piece.
4. The day it was begun.
5. The day it was finished.
6. Measure of the whole piece.
7. Number of working days the prisoner was upon it.
8. The task due per day.
9. Surplus work upon the piece beyond task.
10. Price of the piece per ell.
11. Observations, on occasional circumstances: such as sick, lame, difficult work, first piece, etc.
12. Payment to prisoners for surplus work.
13. Deficiency of task.
14. Punishment for the default.

This last column is written by the magistrates themselves. I saw in it—often "excuse"—sometimes, "make up in next piece"—sometimes, "to work alone," "to bread and water"—seldom, "to rasping logwood." The daily allowance is two pounds of bread; some soup of beans, peas, etc., with wheaten bread in it; and, except Friday and Lent, half a pound of cold meat. Each prisoner has also the value of our farthing, for which he can buy near two pints of small beer; or somewhat else which the victualler of that prison is allowed to sell, and deliver to them at a wicket in the wall. Spirituous liquors are expressly prohibited: and so is wine, unless it be ordered by a note from the physician. It is not allowed to give anything directly to the prisoners: but there is a box into which money may be put; and at stated times it is equally distributed among them. Cards, dice, and all gaming are strictly forbidden: and there are excellent rules for preventing all quarrelling; mending their morals; preserving their health; and making them for the future useful in society. To transcribe all the rules would to most readers be disagreeable. Such as wish to see them will find them, together with more particulars of this noble institution, in two edicts printed in folio at Ghent in 1773 and 1775; both in French and Low Dutch: and in a book in quarto written by Count Vilain XIV and offered to the Government in 1775. The title of it is *Mémoire sur les Moyens de corriger les Malfaiteurs et Fainéans à leur propre Avantage et de les rendre Utiles à l'Etat.*

I revisited this prison in 1778 with one of the magistrates, and found that they were still carrying on a well-regulated manufactory. There were two hundred and eighty men prisoners, and one hundred and seventeen women. These latter had on the house clothes, and were at work. Most of them were spinning or knitting, ranged in proper order, attentive and quiet. I was informed that all the prisoners were allowed one-fifth of their earnings for themselves. I brought home specimens of the cloth, as I did of the paper from Brussels; which I mention, because I know an idea has prevailed, that no manufacture can be carried on by convicts to any valuable purpose.

I have been very particular in my accounts of foreign houses of correction, especially those of the freest States, to counteract a notion prevailing among us, that compelling prisoners to work, especially in public, was inconsistent with the principles of English liberty; at the same time that taking away the lives

of such numbers, either by executions, or the diseases of our prisons, seems to make little impression upon us. Of such force is custom and prejudice, in silencing the voice of good sense and humanity!

The number of criminals in December 1781, was two hundred and six. They were spinning, weaving, making nets, making and mending clothes, or working in the bakehouse and kitchen; and appeared clean and healthy. The doors of the bedrooms were open while they were out in the daytime, and none of the rooms were in the least offensive. In another quarter, the number of petty offenders was a hundred and six, who were employed in the same manner with the criminals above-mentioned; except some who worked as carpenters, turners, and smiths, for the use of the house. On the women's side there were a hundred and fifty, who were washing—spinning—making and mending the linen—or at work in the kitchen. Their bread, soup, and meat were good and plentiful, and all bespoke the care and attention of the director. A list of such prisoners as behave well is annually sent to the emperor (about Good Friday): in 1782 twelve received their pardon. If, however I venture to point out some defects in so good an institution, that others may avoid them, I hope to be excused. The building has too many stories—the rooms and corridors are too low—the infirmaries are not sufficiently detached—there are not proper workrooms, and those are some steps underground—the women have not separate dormitories—the sewers are improperly placed—the distribution of provisions, being but once a day, is not frequent enough—and the bowls, being of wood, cannot easily be kept clean.

At my visit in 1783, I found here a great alteration for the worse; the flourishing and useful manufactory destroyed; and the looms and utensils all sold, in consequence of the emperor's too hasty attention to a petition from a few interested persons. That which ought to be the leading view in all such houses is now lost in this house. Many formerly ascribed the comfort and happiness of their lives to the trades they here learned, and the attention here paid them; but now, the men and women (the former three hundred and twenty-six in number and the latter a hundred and fifty) do not earn, one with another, seven farthings a day. Their victuals are also reduced; the meat from half a pound to six ounces, and greens from three to two farthings-worth a day. Their bread, made in the house, is now ammunition bread. In consequence of this vile policy I

found the aspect of the prisoners quite changed; nor could I wonder to hear that a quarter of the house is soon to be fitted up for an infirmary.

Bruges. The hospital in this city is a very spacious and airy room, with a wainscot partition or screen which divides the men from the women. The great attention of the nuns distinguishes the hospitals in Roman Catholic countries. Their recluse life gives them a pale look, and is the reason, probably, why the wards of the patients are kept too close; here however they look very healthy. There are twenty of them, who rise at four, and are constantly employed about their numerous patients. The directress of the pharmacy last year celebrated her jubilee or fiftieth year of residence.

These sisters asked, whether I was a Catholic? I answered: "I love good people of all religions." Then, said they, "We hope you will die a Catholic."

## PORTUGAL

Imprisonment for debt is prohibited in Portugal by an ordinance made in 1774. There is an entire separation of the sexes in prisons and infirmaries. No garnish is taken in prisons; but I found the bad custom prevalent here of detaining prisoners for the gaoler's fees: those fees are often paid by a charitable society called the Misericordia. Many from the first families in the kingdom are of this order. They send provisions twice a week to several prisons; and, like the Confraternità della Misericordia at Rome, pay great attention to capital convicts. Criminals here are often kept in confinement for several years before they are brought to trial; and sometimes, even after being tried and condemned, they lie in prison some years before they are executed.[1] I saw some convicts at Lisbon going from prison to embark for the settlements in the Brazils. Such convicts as are designed for India are enrolled as soldiers, and sent to a house (or hospital) on the other side of the river, where they are kept some weeks, to bathe, and to be better clothed and fed, that they may be properly prepared for their long voyage.

[1] Before the Marquis of Pombal's administration, gaolers used often to let their prisoners out on their *parole*. One thus favoured, was ordered for execution seven years after he had been condemned. On the gaoler's summons, he immediately returned to the prison from his work in the country. For this punctual regard to his promise he received a pardon.

Lisbon. The great prison at Lisbon, Limoiero (formerly a palace) is designed for the reception of prisoners from the provinces as well as from the city. There were seven hundred and seventy-four, on 21 February, 1783. In one of the lower wards there were seventy criminals, but none in irons. On the first floor there were many who paid for better accommodation, and received no donations from the Misericordia. Here civil and criminal causes are tried in a large hall called Caza da Supplicaçam, which the prisoners use for a day-room and lodging-room: the courts of justice are opened at eight or nine in the morning. There are two infirmaries, one for each sex; in that for men there were eighteen persons, in single beds with proper bedding: their room looked towards the river, and was spacious, clean, and airy. In the room for the condemned, the beds were in recesses. Over these, in a large gallery latticed, there were beds for the sick from the secret or private chambers. In this country, and also in Spain, one seldom sees glass windows; but in prisons, never.

The ecclesiastical prison (Aljube), near the great church, is under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch. It consists of four rooms and a small chapel. Here were confined six priests, and three women. In this and the other prisons, the prisoners may be conversed with through the iron grates: but I always went into the prisons.

In a prison by the rope-walk near the river, many of the nobles and priests were confined in the time of the Marquis of Pombal's administration. Here, nineteen vaulted rooms open into a passage: I measured some of them, they were about twenty feet by nine. The wall was six feet two inches thick. In the entrance to each room there were three doors; the middle one was an iron grate with round bars. Over each of the doors there was an aperture to admit light, except in two rooms called secret, which were totally dark.

Bellem. The prison at Bellem (about two miles from Lisbon) has four rooms below, and several on the first floor for those who pay. Criminals less atrocious than those sent to Limoiero are here confined. The prisoners subsist by charitable donations; and the gaoler told me, that he had a right to a fee from every one discharged.

Lisbon. In the arsenal are four large rooms for the slaves or convicts, most of whom are Moors. Some work at the rope-walk, others fetch water, a few are closely confined, and three or four chained to one spot; one of whom (an Italian)

told me he had been thus confined eight years; another, four years. The rest were chained two and two together, and those that went out had a long chain between them, which was taken off as soon as they returned into the arsenal. Their allowance from Government was one pound of biscuit a day, and some rice, and half a pound of meat three times a week.[1] They were employed in carrying water to this prison, the infirmary, and the great prison; and guarded by the military.

Evora. The prisoners at Evora and Elvas subsist by charity. Some of them had been confined three, four, or five years, without being brought to trial.[2]

## SPAIN

I entered Spain at Badajoz, 9 March, 1783. This country abounds with charitable institutions, and there are at present few or no beggars in it. Most of the prisons have courts for men, with fountains or running water in the centre, and corridors for shade. The same separation of the sexes which I observed in the Portuguese prisons, takes place here; and it is the custom likewise, as in Portugal, for the gaolers to demand fees of prisoners before they are discharged. A condemned criminal, after the judges have made their report, is seldom pardoned by the king. After condemnation, he is called from the other prisoners into the chapel, where his sentence is read to him by a secretary, and a friar attends to exhort and comfort him, who never leaves him till he is executed. The sentence is generally read on Saturday, and the execution ordered for the Monday following.

When a confession is extorted from a criminal by torture, it is read to him twenty-four hours afterwards, that he may either confirm or retract it. But in some of the provinces this shocking practice does not take place.

[1] In this country the prisoners have a dispensation to eat meat the two first days of Lent (viz. Ash Wednesday and Thursday) so that families may send in to them the remains of their flesh provisions.

[2] At Elvas the Marshal de Valleré did me the favour to show me the new barracks, etc. I could not but remark to him, that I was persuaded, the closeness of them, as well as those under the ramparts, gave his soldiers their pale and languid look. He walked with me to a new fountain, and showed me the plan and intended inscription in honour of the chief magistrate, for whom I told the Marshal, I should have had a higher esteem, had I not found poor wretches in the prison, who never had been put on their examination or trial, for three or four years.

It is the custom at Madrid for two of the Privy Council to visit the prisons; and they often either reverse or alter the sentences of the inferior judges. When I was there, the sentence of one condemned to the Prado prison for eight years, was altered to four months; another sentenced to the same prison for six months, on account of his large family was discharged.

Some of the churches in Spain are asylums for debtors and criminals. At Madrid there are only two, S. Sebastian for men, and S. Luis for women. At the former, there were five persons; one of whom said he had been there two years. At the latter, there was only one. A pavement round these churches, about three feet wide, is the verge of the privilege.[1]

San Fernando. San Fernando, about eight miles from the city, is a house of correction for petty offenders, vagrants, and beggars. Here were three hundred and nine men and five hundred and forty-seven women. Some were carrying stone to a lime-kiln; some making and washing the linen of the house; and some were spinning linen and worsted. The work-rooms are thirty-two feet wide; the infirmaries are spacious, at the top of the house. The prisoners were clothed in a uniform, and each is allowed two pairs of shoes and stockings. The men's apartments were clean, but the women's (as is generally the case in the Spanish prisons and hospitals) were much cleaner. Every one had a bed, a mattress and two coverlets. The women here have a court as well as the men; and both courts are commanded by the keeper's balcony. The provisions were good: the bread allowance is twenty ounces a day. Two of the prisoners attend at dinner, to see that each is served with his full portion of soup (three quarters of a pint). They are allowed three feasts in a year, Christmas, Easter, and San Fernando's day. Here is a shop for the sale of wine, the quality and price of which are fixed by the magistrates; but no spirituous liquors are permitted to be sold. No fees are paid at entrance, or discharge. The prison is attended by a physician,

[1] Dr. Moore, in his *View of Society and Manners in Italy*, judiciously observes, that, "the asylum which churches and convents offer to criminals, operates against the peace of society, and tends to the encouragement of this shocking custom (stabbing) in two different manners: first, it increases the criminal's hopes of escaping; secondly, it diminishes, in vulgar minds, the idea of the atrocity of the crime. When the populace see a murderer lodged within the sacred walls of a church, protected and fed by men who are revered on account of their profession, and the supposed sanctity of their lives; must not this weaken the horror which mankind naturally have for such a crime, and which it ought to be the aim of every government to augment?"—Letter XLIII.

a surgeon, and a chaplain: it has also a guard, consisting of thirty foot and eight horse, which is changed every month.

Here is a head-keeper or governor on the men's side, a humane, sensible and attentive man, who resides in the house: as also on the women's side there is a resident governess. The regulations are peculiarly calculated for the preservation of decorum and due subordination; for the prevention of fraud and embezzlement in the distribution of provision and clothing; for enforcing a strict and devout performance of religious duties; for an exact separation of the two sexes; and for the constant and regular employment of every individual in the house. I shall here copy only the diet table.[1]

MADRID. The hospicio, a sort of prison, is also a well-regulated manufactory, in which the sexes are entirely separated. A considerable number of men, advanced in years, were picking wool. In one room, a hundred and fifty boys were spinning worsted; in another, sixty were carding wool. Forty or fifty looms were employed on coarse linen; others on wide cloth. In two rooms I observed stocking and waistcoat frames. Some boys were carding and spinning the down of hares and rabbits for gloves; and some were employed in a pin manufactory. A number of tailors and carpenters I also saw at work. Fifty of the least boys were under instruction in the school. All commonly rise at six; attend prayers, and then go to breakfast; dine about noon; and sup at sunset. They have twenty-two ounces of bread, and two ounces of peas a day, and half a pound of meat, except on maigre days. There are two rooms for the confinement of the disorderly. The regulations of this well-conducted house are the same with those for San Fernando.

The hospital of San Antonio is intended chiefly for the

[1] THE TABLE OF DIET FOR SAN FERNANDO.

Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. Twenty ounces of bread, eight ounces of mutton, and two ounces of garvances (i.e. yellow beans dried).

Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays. Twenty ounces of bread, four ounces of meat, and two ounces of garvances. At night, four ounces of bread in broth, or three ounces of lentils; or two ounces and a half of jew-beans.

Fridays and meagre days. Twenty ounces of bread, three ounces of dried fish, two ounces of rice, and two ounces and a half of jew-beans.

To make their [2]ollas, they are allowed, on meat days, eight pounds of salt butter; on Fridays, four pounds for supper.

On Fridays, they are allowed, one pound of oil and twenty-five pounds of jew-beans, garvances, and lentils for *soupe-maigre*.—On meat days cayenne pepper for sauce.

[2] Olla is a general term in Spain for a variety of ingredients boiled over a slow fire, viz., meat, greens, pepper, etc.

reception and accommodation of poor travelling Austrians, for three days.

In a room in this hospital a charitable society, called the Hermandad del Refugio, meet every evening, and then go about the streets, giving notice of their presence by striking the pavement with sticks shod with iron. Whatever poor and distressed people they meet with in this perambulation, they conduct to this hospital, and supply them with a supper of bread and eggs, one night's lodging (in rooms which are appropriated for them), and a breakfast of bread and raisins. The sick they send to the general hospital, where one of the eighteen physicians always attends to examine and admit patients. In that part of this hospital which is next the street, there is a place into which the sick put notices of their distress, in consequence of which they are immediately visited and relieved by the society.

I failed in my attempt to gain admittance into the inquisition at Lisbon. At Madrid, by the kind assistance of Count Campomanes, I got access to the inquisitor-general, but the day on which I applied to him being a great holiday, he appointed me seven o'clock the next morning. On this holiday I saw the inquisitor, several of the nobility and others, go in procession to church, carrying the insignia of the order, which are a cross between a palm and a sword. The next morning, the inquisitor received me at prayers, and in a few minutes conducted me to the tribunal, which was hung with red: over the inquisitor's seat there was a crucifix, and before it a table with seats for the two secretaries, and a stool for the prisoner. I could not prevail on him to show me any other part of the prison; but he told me that he went round once a month with a secretary, and asked every prisoner whether he had any complaint to make.

Valladolid. The letters of the same kind friend, Count Campomanes, procured my admission at Valladolid. I was received at the inquisition prison by the two inquisitors, their secretaries, and two magistrates, and conducted into several rooms. On the side of one room was the picture of an *Auto-da-Fé* in 1667, when ninety-seven persons were burnt: at this time the Spanish court resided at Valladolid. The tribunal room is like that at Madrid, but has an altar, and a door (with three locks) into the secretary's room, over which was inscribed, that the greater excommunication was denounced against all strangers who presume to enter. In two other tribunal rooms, were the insignia of

the inquisition. In a large room, I saw on the floor and shelves, many prohibited books, some of which were English: in another room, I saw multitudes of crosses, beads, and small pictures. The painted cap was also showed me, and the vestments for the unhappy victims. After several consultations, I was permitted to go up the private staircase, by which prisoners are brought to the tribunal; this leads to a passage with several doors in it, which I was not permitted to enter. On one of the secretaries telling me, "None but prisoners ever enter these rooms"; I answered, "I would be confined for a month to satisfy my curiosity." He replied, "None come out under three years, and they take the oath of secrecy." I learned, by walking in the court, and conversing with the inquisitors, that the cells have double doors, and are separated by two walls, to prevent prisoners conversing together, and that over the space between the walls there is a sort of chimney or funnel, enclosed at the top, but having perforations on the sides, through which some air and a glimmering of light enter. These funnels, the inquisitors told me, are double barred: and one of them serves two cells. Both the inquisitors assured me that they did not put irons on any of their prisoners. The passages into which some of the cells open, have small apertures for the admission of light. In a gloomy area at the back of the prison, there was nothing but a great mastiff dog.

It is well known that from this court there is no appeal. I need not say how horrid the secrecy and severity of it appear. I could not but observe, that even the sight of it struck terror into the common people as they passed. It is styled, by a monstrous abuse of words, the Holy and Apostolic Court of Inquisition.

Pamplona. The prison at Pamplona is an old building in the middle of the city. It has three small courts: the prisoners lie in boxes without mattresses or bedding. There were stocks, and also a dark vaulted room for the punishment of offences committed in the prison. The rooms being very dirty and offensive, I inquired whether epidemical distempers had not sometimes prevailed there, and was answered in the affirmative, and told that about eight years ago, eighteen or twenty prisoners had died in a short time. Here were sixty-one men and three women, 15 April, 1783. Allowance to each is about twopence a day.

The upper floor of this prison is used as a house of correction for women. I saw twenty-eight in four rooms, all spinning, but

not with wheels. Each had a bed; the rooms were clean. The bread was good; allowance one pound and a half a day. The term of confinement, from four years to eight; but if any person should choose to marry one confined for small offences, the magistrates are ready to release her. One of the magistrates told me that he visited this prison every week, to hear any complaints that might be made. I inquired whether the keeper went with him? He replied that he did.

The torture is not used in this province (Navarre). A singular custom prevails here; for twice in the year (the day before Christmas, and eight days before Easter), the Viceroy goes with the magistrates to the council-chamber in the prison, and releases whom he pleases of the prisoners. The day before I got to Pamplona, he had released thirteen. A few years ago, to the surprise of the magistrates, all were released.

## FRENCH FLANDERS AND FRANCE

The French provinces in Flanders and the Netherlands, are chiefly governed by the same *arrêt de parlement* as the provinces in France.

Lille. The Tour de St. Pierre at Lille is an old building. There were in it, 24 May, 1783, three debtors, five smugglers, and four vagrants. Five were sick in a very offensive room, with only one bed. Allowance is one pound and a half of bread. The small and dark dungeons down fifteen steps, I was glad to find unoccupied.

I have reason to be abundantly thankful for recovery from a fever which I caught of the sick, in this prison, at my last visit; and would make my grateful acknowledgment to that kind hand, by which I have been hitherto preserved.

At the city prison there were fourteen prisoners: their allowance consists of bread, butter, and small beer. The dungeons were empty.

The unhealthy countenances of the prisoners at the citadel show the pernicious effects of lying in caserns, or damp rooms under the fortifications. 26 May, 1783, here were three hundred and forty prisoners, most of them deserters. In the sick-rooms, which were very close and dirty, there were eighty-six; some of whom, though dying, were in irons. The scurvy has lately made great havoc here. Particular attention should be paid

to air and cleanliness, where prisoners have no employment. Humanity to them, and also to their keepers and visitors, demands this. The observation of a sensible magistrate at Hanover, here occurs to my mind: "We have found," says he, "that the convicts or slaves who are committed for life, ruin the morals of those who are condemned only for a year or two; therefore, by a late regulation in the electorate, they are now kept apart." Such a regulation here would be beneficial in every view.

PARIS. In or near Paris the principal prisons were the Conciergerie, Grand and Petit Châtelet, For-l'Evêque, L'Abbaye, and the Bicêtre. But at my visit in 1783 I found two of the worst of them, Petit Châtelet and For-l'Evêque, with their horrid dungeons, entirely demolished. The debtors now are sent to a new prison, the Hôtel de la Force; and criminals are sent to the Conciergerie, or the Grand Châtelet. The king's declaration for this alteration, dated the 30th of August, 1780, contains some of the most humane and enlightened sentiments respecting the conduct of prisons. It mentions the construction of airy and spacious infirmaries for the sick; separate places of confinement, and courts, for men and women, and for prisoners of different classes; and a total abolition of underground dungeons, upon this principle, that it is unjust, that those who may possibly be innocent, should beforehand suffer a rigorous punishment.

Most prisons in the city have three or four doors, from four feet to four and a half high, separated from each other by a little area or court. Within the inner door is, in some prisons, a turnstile. The number and lowness of the doors (at each of which you must stoop) and the turnstiles, effectually prevent the prisoners rushing out.

In most of the prisons there are five or six turnkeys, viz., two or three at the doors: one walking in the court, to prevent conferring and plotting (a circumstance to which French gaolers are very attentive): one at the women's ward: and every day one of them is abroad, or otherwise at leisure. This liberty they have in rotation. They are strictly prohibited, under severe penalties, from receiving anything of the prisoners, directly or indirectly, on any pretence whatever. The gaoler is obliged to board them; and to pay each of them at least one hundred livres a year.

I was surprised at seeing that none of the prisoners in the courts were in irons. No gaoler (I was informed) may put

them on a prisoner, without an express order from the judge. And yet in some of the prisons, there were more criminals than in any of our London gaols. When I was first there, the number had been recently increased by an insurrection on account of the scarcity of corn. My reader will perhaps presently see reason to conclude, that the manner in which prisons are conducted makes the confinement more tolerable, and chains less needful. Indeed it was evident, from the very appearance of the prisoners in some of the gaols, that humane attention was paid to them.

Most of the courts are paved; and they are washed in summer once or twice a day. One would hardly believe how this freshens the air in the upper rooms. I felt this very sensibly once and again when I was in the chambers: and an Englishman, who had the misfortune to be a prisoner, made the same remark. I seldom or never found in any French prison that offensive smell which I had often perceived in English gaols. I sometimes thought these courts were the cleanest places in Paris. One circumstance that contributed to it, besides the number of turnkeys, was that most of them were near the river.

As prisoners are not properly separated, it is difficult to keep such as become the king's evidence apart from the rest: the gaoler of Le Petit Châtelet was obliged to fit up a separate room for that purpose.

Prisoners, especially criminals, attend mass almost every day, and the gaoler or a turnkey with them: but such of them as are Protestants are excused. No person is admitted into any prison during the time of divine service.

As condemned criminals generally throw off all reserve, and by relating their various adventures and success, prove pernicious tutors to young and less practised offenders; care is taken to prevent this mischief, by sending those who are sentenced to the galleys, to a separate prison, La Tournelle, near the Port de St. Bernard; where they are kept till the time for their being carried off. Before they are sent hither they are branded.

To prevent the frequent consequences of desperation, no one condemned to death by the inferior court is without hopes of life, till the Parliament confirms or reverses the sentence: and they never make known their decision, till the morning of the day on which a prisoner is to suffer. Then they publish a confirmation of the former sentence; and it is sold in the streets. Executions are often in the afternoon: the last that I saw was

by torch-light: but the criminal was almost dead by the torture before his execution.

Taking garnish, or footing, is strictly prohibited. If prisoners demand of a new-comer anything of that sort, on whatever pretence; if, in order to obtain it, they distress him by hiding his clothes, etc., they are shut up for a fortnight in a dark dungeon, and suffer other punishment. They are obnoxious to the same chastisement for hiding one another's clothes, or being otherwise injurious.

The daily allowance to criminals is a pound and a half of good bread, and some soup. The soup is not made, nor is any other provision dressed, in the prisons. They have clean linen once a week, from a society, which was instituted about the year 1753. The occasion of it was the prevalence of a contagious disease which in France they call *le scorbut*, the scurvy. This distemper was found to proceed from the prisons; and to spread in the Hôtel-Dieu, whither prisoners that had it were removed. The cause of it was generally thought to be want of cleanliness in prisons; where several of those confined had worn their linen for many months, and infected the most healthy new-comers that were put in the room with them. Eight hundred were ill of it at once in the hospital of St. Louis, to which all that were sick of it in the Hôtel-Dieu had been carried. By the Abbé Breton's exerting himself on this occasion, a fund was raised to support prisoners in the Grand Châtelet with clean linen every week. This put an effectual stop to the malady in that prison. Numbers afterwards joined the society; the king and queen honoured it with their contributions; and the charity extended to three other prisons: so that at last, seven hundred prisoners were provided for in the same manner, and a stock of linen requisite for that purpose, viz., five thousand shirts, was completed. The elder prisoners have charge of the linen that is in the prison; they receive it (every Saturday) and return it, and are gratified by the society; which continues to the present time. Besides this, there is scarce a prison in the city that has not a patroness; a lady of character, who voluntarily takes care that those in the infirmaries be properly attended; supplies them with fuel, and linen; does many kind offices to the prisoners in general; and by soliciting the charity of others, procures not only the relief and comforts mentioned already, but soup twice a week, and meat once a fortnight.

There is also annually at each prison somewhat like our charity sermons; public service in the chapel, and a collection.

On these occasions the patroness attends; as I saw at Christmas 1778, and soon after found the prisoners supplied with clothes.

Those who sleep on straw, pay the gaoler no fee at entrance, or discharge; but they pay one sou or halfpenny a day; and have clean straw once a month: those in the dungeons, once a fortnight. These latter are seldom let out; never in the court.

All the regulations are ordered to be read in the chapel to prisoners, the first Sunday of every month, by the chaplain; and they are hung up in the prison for common inspection. If any prisoner tears, or otherwise damages them, he suffers corporal punishment: if a register or gaoler does so, he is fined twenty livres: if a turnkey, he is discharged.

The discipline observed is so exact, that at the fire in the Conciergerie, the numerous prisoners (as I was informed) were removed without any confusion, or a single escape. There are good rules for preserving peace; for suppressing profaneness; for prohibiting gaolers or turnkeys abusing prisoners by beating them or otherwise; forbidding their furnishing them with wine or spirituous liquors, so as to cause excess, drunkenness, etc. Keepers are punished for this, when known to the magistrates, by a fine for the first offence; and for the second by stripes.

They are allowed to sell some things to their prisoners; but the quality, quantity and price must be such as the ordinances of policy define and require.

The turnkeys visit the dungeons four times a day; in the morning when the prisons are opened, at noon, at six in the evening, and at ten at night. I was sorry to find the humanity which is so conspicuous in the forementioned, and other excellent rules, so deficient as to continue the use of those subterraneous abodes; which are totally dark, and beyond imagination horrid and dreadful. Poor creatures are confined in them night and day for weeks, for months together. If the turnkeys find any prisoners sick, they must acquaint the physician and surgeon, who visit them; and if needful, order them to more wholesome rooms till they recover.

A prisoner of rank, a very sensible man, to whom I was speaking concerning gaolers in 1778, said, "They pay nothing to the crown, and their revenue is not small; at the Conciergerie, it is about fifteen thousand livres; at the Grand-Châtelet, twenty thousand; at For-l'Evêque, twenty thousand; at the Petit-Châtelet, twelve thousand; at L'Abbaye, ten thousand. And all things considered," he added, "prisoners have no just reason to complain of this class of men in France."

The nomination of a gaoler belongs to the magistrates. When he has been nominated, he is proposed to the procureur-general; and if, after a careful inquiry into his character, it appears that he has the reputation of a man of probity, he is fixed in the office, and takes an oath of fidelity. The office is freely given him without any expense whatever; so that keepers are not tempted, by paying for their places, to oppress their prisoners: to remove all pretext for so doing, rents which they formerly paid to the crown are remitted, and the leases given up.

As for debtors, their number is small. Of the two hundred and two prisoners in the Conciergerie, in 1778, but six were debtors. In the other prisons there were a few more. This perhaps is owing to the following good *arrêts*. Every bailiff who arrests and imprisons a debtor, must pay to the gaoler in advance, a month's aliment or subsistence, i.e. ten livres ten sous, equal to nine shillings English (provisions are at Paris cheaper in general than at London): and if the like sum be not paid within fourteen days after the end of every month, the prisoner is set at liberty. Besides this, the debtor pays no costs of arrests, etc. The whole of them falls on the creditor: and so do all expenses occasioned by his sickness or death.

As the best regulations are liable to be abused, prisoners are not thought sufficiently provided for by enacting good laws: the execution of them is carefully attended to. The substitutes of the attorney-general (should) visit the prisons once a week, to inquire if the rules be observed; to hear complaints of prisoners; to see if the sick be properly attended; and the like. Besides this, the Parliament of Paris sends to all the prisons five times a year two or three counsellers with a substitute of the attorney-general, and two clerks. They go at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, one day before 15 August, St. Simon and Jude. There is in each prison (as in other foreign gaols) a room for their reception called the council-chamber. It is occupied at other times by the head-gaoler.

The arrival of this deputation is announced by boys, who, though offenders, are allowed to do little errands in the prison: these go round the court and into every room, giving notice of it aloud. The deputies go, without the gaoler or turnkeys, into every room and dungeon, and

1. They ask the prisoners one by one, if they have any complaint to make of the gaoler or his servants. But they never meddle with those who are confined by an order from the king.

2. They receive the petitions of prisoners who have been detained too long without trial.

3. In case of debts not exceeding two thousand livres (about ninety pounds) if the debtor can raise a third part of his debt and no more, they receive it for the creditors. How they clear him of the remaining two-thirds, I will show presently. They take notes of these matters in the prison; and give an account of all to the Parliament, at their general public meeting a day or two after.

In behalf of prisoners who have not been tried, the Parliament commonly orders the attorney-general to write in their name to the inferior judges, inquiring the causes of delay, or ordering expedition. If a prisoner be acquitted, he is discharged within twenty-four hours.

The laws of France do not in ordinary cases admit a debtor to bail without the consent of his creditor. But in the case mentioned above, the Parliament obliges creditors to accept of bail for the remainder of debts under two thousand livres. And even this bail seems a matter of mere form; for they sometimes take for bail men that are insolvent. I have heard there is no standing law for this; and that it is rather an immemorial custom: because the Parliament enacts a particular law for each case as it occurs. In France there are no insolvent acts. When prisoners have received their liberty from the king, or their creditors, they cannot be detained a moment for fees, hire of rooms, debts contracted in prison, or on any pretence whatever.

The deputies hear no complaints of the gaoler against his prisoners. When he has any to make, he applies to the chief justice, by whose order the prisoner was committed. If he was imprisoned by an order from the king, he applies to the lieutenant-general of the police; if without such an order, to the lieutenant-criminal.

Besides the deputation now mentioned, the Parliament appoints to each prison one of their own body, a counsellor. They always choose a gentleman of fortune and good character: he is called Commissaire de la Prison. His business is much like that of the deputation; and his office perpetual. By frequent discourse with prisoners I learned, that these officers are very humane to the distressed. They can (as the Parliament) oblige creditors to accept one-third part of debts under two thousand livres: but they use this power with much caution.

The Conciergerie has an airy court (fifty-five yards by thirty-

eight) with a fine piazza. The dungeons are dark and offensive. There is a new infirmary, with beds admitting only one patient in each. At my former visits here was a tap-room, which now, to the honour of the police, is abolished. At several visits in 1783 the prisoners were calm and quiet.

At the Grand-Châtelet, as well as the Conciergerie, the prisoners pay for their rooms according to their goodness; even those who lie on straw pay one sou a night. In this prison there are eight dungeons, which open into dark passages. In four of these dungeons (ten feet eight inches by six feet eight) I saw sixteen prisoners, two in irons, and all lying upon straw.[1]

L'Abbaye is a prison for the military or guards, and for such debtors as are men of rank. In the debtors' rooms a partition of lath and plaster, detached from the brick wall, answers the end of an expedient to prevent escapes: for if the smallest perforation be made in the partition, it is immediately discovered, by the mortar falling between that and the wall into the keeper's court, through the aperture which is left for that purpose. Here are six small dungeons, in which, as the gaoler said, there were sometimes fifty confined.

The Hôtel de la Force, a new prison for debtors (vagrants, deserters and petty offenders), has been occupied only from January 1782. It is an airy and spacious building, and has several courts and areas for the separation of men, and women, and the different kinds of prisoners. The courts are all clean and well supplied with water. The number of debtors was seventy-eight men and eleven women. Over their doors are painted the price to be paid for the beds from five to thirty sous a night. There are also rooms and beds for debtors that cannot pay: all the prisoners that are poor have one pound and a half of bread and soup every day.

Here are two chapels, an airy infirmary, for each sex; and a well furnished apothecary's shop, from which this, and the

[1] The number of prisoners, 16 May, 1783, in the Grand Châtelet.

| | |
|---|---|
| In rooms . . . | 47 |
| On straw . . . | 209 |
| In dungeons . . | 16 |
| In infirmaries . . | 33 |
| Total | 305 |

I chose to visit the prisoners in the dungeons, on maigre days, because their allowance then being only bread, a little present of wine is the more acceptable.

other prisons are supplied with drugs. Here are fourteen turnkeys, twelve every day on duty in separate departments; but in case of any riot or disorder they can readily assist one another: two walk in each of the men's courts. By the list sent into the office of the police, 17 May, 1783, the number of prisoners of all descriptions was two hundred and seventy-one, of whom many were deserters.

The *arrêt* of Parliament of the 19th of February, 1782, for the regulation of this prison, containing twenty-nine articles, is ordered to be read in the chapels before all the prisoners on the first Sunday of every month, and to be fixed on the doors of the chapels, and on several other conspicuous parts of the prison.[1]

At the Hôtel-de-ville there are two rooms, in which were two men and a woman.

The Bicêtre is upon a small eminence about two miles from Paris. If it were only a prison, I should call it an enormous one; but this for men, like the Salpêtrière for women, is indeed a kind of general hospital. Of about four thousand men that are within its walls, not one-half are prisoners. The majority are: the poor, who wear a coarse brown uniform, and seem as miserable as the poor in some of our country workhouses; the insane; and those that have the venereal disease. Each sort is in a court and apartments totally separate from the other, and from criminals. Some are in little rooms about eight feet square, window three feet and a half by two feet, with a grate, but not many glazed: there is but one prisoner in a room. These pay two hundred livres a year for their board. The number of these rooms is two hundred and ninety-six. There are others in two large rooms called La Force, on the other side of the court (La Cour Royale) which were crowded with prisoners: in 1778, there were upwards of two hundred. Such a number confined together in idleness, must produce a great corruption of manners. Many at their unhappy end have ascribed their ruin to the flagitious examples they had here seen, and the instructions here given them.

In the middle of La Cour Royale are eight dreadful dungeons down sixteen steps: each about thirteen feet by nine: with two strong doors; three chains fastened to the wall; and a stone

[1] Most of the articles of this *arrêt* are similar to those in the excellent *arrêt* of 1717; but the eleventh article being new, I will copy it: "Les prisonniers ne paieront à l'avenir aucun droit d'entrée ni de sortie de la prison," i.e. Prisoners shall pay no fee at coming in or going out of the prison.

funnel at one corner of each cell, for air. From the situation of these dreary caverns, and the difficulty I found in procuring admittance, I conclude hardly any other stranger ever saw them: that is my reason, and I hope will be an apology, for mentioning the particulars.

Prisoners make straw boxes, toothpicks, etc., and sell them to visitants. I viewed the men with some attention; and observed in the looks of many a settled melancholy: many others looked very sickly. This prison is not so well managed as those in the city: it is very dirty: no fire-place in any of the rooms: and in the severe cold in 1775, several hundreds perished.

The French are now sensible of the bad policy of confining persons in idleness; for of late they have here set their prisoners to work. I saw in 1783, one hundred and twenty employed in three rooms, in polishing, etc., plate glass: and the water was drawn by seventy-two prisoners, in three sets, each set working one hour at a time; and five hours in a day. They draw sixteen buckets an hour, and about two hundred and forty buckets daily, and are paid for each bucket two sous and a half. The prisoners are much healthier than they were at my former visits.

The Bastille may occur to some of my readers, as an object concerning which some information would be acceptable. I am happy to be able to give this, by means of a pamphlet published in 1774, written by a person who was long confined in this prison. It is reckoned the best account of this celebrated structure ever published; and the sale of it being prohibited in France under very severe penalties, it is become extremely scarce. I have extracted the most material circumstances of the description.

This castle is a State prison, consisting of eight very strong towers, surrounded with a *fossé* about one hundred and twenty feet wide, and a wall sixty feet high. The entrance is at the end of the street of St. Antoine, by a drawbridge, and great gates into the court of l'Hôtel du Gouvernement; and from thence over another drawbridge to the *corps de garde*, which is separated by a strong barrier constructed with beams plated with iron, from the great court. This court is about one hundred and twenty feet by eighty. In it is a fountain; and six of the towers surround it, which are united by walls of freestone ten feet thick up to the top. At the bottom of this court is a large modern *corps de logis*, which separates it from the court *du Puits*. This court is fifty feet by twenty-five. Contiguous to it, are the other two towers. On the top of the towers is a platform continued in terraces, on which the prisoners are sometimes permitted to walk, attended by a guard. On this platform are thirteen cannons mounted, which are discharged on days

of rejoicing. In the *corps de logis* is the council-chamber, and the kitchen, offices, etc., above these are rooms for prisoners of distinction, and over the council-chamber the king's lieutenant resides. In the court *du Puits* is a large well for the use of the kitchen.

The dungeons of the tower *de la Liberté* extend under the kitchen, etc. Near that tower is a small chapel on the ground-floor. In the wall of it are five niches or closets, in which prisoners are put one by one to hear mass, where they can neither see nor be seen.

The dungeons at the bottom of the towers exhale the most offensive scents, and are the receptacles of toads, rats, and other kinds of vermin. In the corner of each is a camp-bed, made of planks laid on iron bars that are fixed to the walls, and the prisoners are allowed some straw to lay on the beds. These dens are dark, having no windows, but openings into the ditch: they have double doors, the inner ones plated with iron, with large bolts and locks.

Of the five classes of chambers, the most horrid next to the dungeons are those in which are cages of iron. There are three of them. They are formed of beams with strong plates of iron, and are each eight feet by six.

The *calottes*, or chambers at the top of the towers, are somewhat more tolerable. They are formed of eight arcades of freestone. Here one cannot walk but in the middle of the room. There is hardly sufficient space for a bed from one arcade to another. The windows, being in walls ten feet thick, and having iron grates within and without, admit but little light. In these rooms the heat is excessive in summer, and the cold in winter. They have stoves.

Almost all the other rooms (of the towers) are octagons, about twenty feet in diameter, and from fourteen to fifteen high. They are very cold and damp. Each is furnished with a bed of green serge, etc. All the chambers are numbered. The prisoners are called by the name of their tower joined to the number of their room.

A surgeon and three chaplains reside in the castle. If prisoners of note are dangerously ill, they are generally removed, that they may not die in this prison. The prisoners who die there are buried in the parish of St. Paul, under the name of domestics.

A library was founded by a prisoner who was a foreigner, and died in the Bastille the beginning of the present century. Some prisoners obtain permission to have the use of it.

One of the sentinels on the inside of the castle rings a bell every hour, day and night, to give notice that they are awake: and on the rounds on the outside of the castle they ring every quarter of an hour.

I have inserted so particular an account of this prison, chiefly with the design of inculcating a reverence for the principles of a free constitution like our own, which will will not permit in any degree the exercise of that despotism, which has rendered the name of Bastille so formidable.[1] I was desirous of examining

[1] Sir William Blackstone observes, that the preservation of personal liberty is of great importance to the public: "for if once it were left in the

it myself; and for that purpose knocked hard at the outer gate, and immediately went forward through the guard to the drawbridge before the entrance of the castle. But while I was contemplating this gloomy mansion, an officer came out much surprised; and I was forced to retreat through the mute guard, and thus regained that freedom, which for one locked up within those walls it is next to impossible to obtain.

Many of my readers, acquainted with the strict policy of France, would have supposed that the other prisons would have been as inaccessible to a visitant as the Bastille. And indeed my first application for admittance at the Grand Châtelet was unsuccessful. But fortunately remarking the tenth article[1] of the *arrêt* 1717, I pleaded it before the Commissaire de la Prison, to whom I was referred, and by its means gained admission as well into that prison, as those of Le Petit Châtelet and For-l'Evêque, and had an opportunity of seeing almost every individual confined in them.

In the provincial gaols I saw little worth noting, but what has been already mentioned at Paris. These also have charitable patronesses, who take care that the prisoners be not defrauded of their allowance; and procure them further relief. But these prisons do not seem to be so carefully inspected as those in the city; although the *arrêts* of Parliament for regulation of both are for the most part similar, and were made in the same year, 1717. They are drawn up with sound judgment, and accurate knowledge of the complex subject. I found many articles of them in the laws of other nations; but cannot say whether the French *arrêts* were compiled from them, or followed by them.

The 32nd article of the *arrêt* for the provinces requires that prisons be *au raiz de chausseé*, level with the ground. Yet at Chalons, and some other towns, I saw many prisoners in dungeons; larger indeed, but in other respects not much better

power of any, the highest, magistrate to imprison arbitrarily whomever he or his officers thought proper, (as in France it is daily practised by the crown [2]) there would soon be an end of all other rights and immunities."

[1] The article is as follows: "Les geôliers conduiront les personnes qui viendront faire des charités dans les lieux de la prison où elles désireront les distribuer, ce qu'elles pourront faire elles-mêmes sur le préau ou dans la cour; mais les aumônes ne pourront être distribuées dans les cachots noirs que par les mains du geôlier, en présence des personnes qui les porteront."

[2] "I have been assured upon good authority, that, during the mild administration of Cardinal Fleury, above 54,000 *lettres de cachet* were issued, upon the single ground of the famous *bulle Unigenitus*."—*Commentaries*, Book I, chap. 1.

than those at Paris. In the four horrid ones at the Prison de St. Joseph (formerly a convent) at Lyons, June 1776, were twenty-nine criminals: the heat so excessive, that few of them had any other garment on than their shirts. Some of them were sick: none looked healthy. In the nine other rooms of that gaol there were one hundred and twenty-eight prisoners; of which number twenty-two were women.

To the Pierre-en-cize, a State prison at Lyons, you ascend by more than two hundred steps: among the few prisoners in it, I sat talking awhile with one who said he was in the fiftieth year of his confinement.

Dunkirk. In the prison at Dunkirk, the French prisoners were in two or three rooms by themselves.

Here (January 1779) I found many of my countrymen prisoners of war. In five rooms there were a hundred and thirty-three—captains, mates, passengers, and common sailors all crowded together—who lay on straw, with one coverlet for every three persons. In three other rooms there were thirteen accommodated in a better manner, because most of them were ransomers, and capable of paying six sous a night for their beds.[1] The court was small, being only forty-two feet by twenty-six; nor was there sufficient plenty of water. The bread, beer, and soup were good, and the beef tolerable. In a former war, the contract here was twelve sous a man; in the last it was fifteen. Each room was supplied with two small faggots a day for firing. The sick (of whom there were only three) were taken to the military hospital. The regulations were hung up in English and French.

Bergues. In the prison at Bergues I found forty-seven English prisoners. The table of victualling was hung up here as at Dunkirk, but the provisions were not so good. There were twelve on their parole in this town, nine at Bourbourg, and two at Ardres, who told me they had procured bondsmen for their security.

Calais. The common prison at Calais, being smaller than that at Dunkirk, was much crowded: for it contained one hundred and twenty-seven English prisoners. Seventeen sailors lay in one room[2] on straw, without coverlets; a few had not even

[1] A ransomer is a person confined as a security, till the sum is paid for which a ship has been ransomed.

[2] That room was nineteen feet by twelve. In another smaller room, in two tiers, were twenty-three hammocks belonging to the sailors; for sometimes their hammocks were given them. The court of this prison was only twenty-five feet by fourteen and a half.

straw: on my complaining of this to the commissary, he said, he would send to St. Omer's for coverlets. After informing him further, that I had found captains, passengers, and mates confined in France, but that I supposed persons of this description in England were on their parole of honour; he replied, and desired I would note it down, that "a parole could not be granted without security; a hundred guineas for captains, seventy-five for mates, sixty for sailors, and twenty-five for boys." Passengers were on the same footing with captains. On the second day of my being there, the rules (the same as at Dunkirk) were hung up, both within and without this prison.

Many of the prisoners in this and other prisons had no change of linen, and some were almost entirely destitute of clothes, being the crews of vessels shipwrecked in the great storm of 31 December, 1778.

There were twenty-six of our people in a spacious ward in the military hospital, to whom great attention was paid. Each had a bed and sheets; and their bread and meat were good. But most of them having a disorder which did not break their spirits, they would have been better pleased if their allowance had been equal to that in the prison.

"Toulon. The galleys, formerly at Marseilles, are now removed to the arsenal at Toulon. Five were moored near each other, and have their names on the stern, as the *Firm*, the *Brave*, the *Intrepid*, etc. In them there were about sixteen hundred prisoners, who are obliged always to wear a bonnet or cap, on which is fixed a tin plate with a number. Their caps were grey, green, and red, to distinguish deserters, smugglers, and thieves; these last are always branded before they leave the prison of the place where they were condemned; some with the letter V (for *voleur*) others with G A L on the left shoulder.

"These galleys had only one deck. Many of their windows in the roofs were open; and, being swept twice every day, they were clean, and not offensive. The slaves also were kept clean, and their clothing was neat, even in that galley which is appropriated to the aged and infirm. Some of them had been confined forty, fifty, and even sixty years. All have a coat, waistcoat, trousers, two shirts, and a pair of shoes, given them every year; and a great-coat every two years. They had good brown bread, well baked, in loaves weighing a pound and three-quarters. All had some little allowance in money, and to those who worked was granted an additional allowance of three sous every day for wine. In each galley there were two

cantons (little rooms) one for wine, for those who worked for government, the other for the sale of white bread, greens, etc.

"Many worked at their own trades, as shoemakers, basket-makers, etc., but none were allowed to keep shops on shore as formerly at Marseilles; nor have they the same convenience they had then for the sale of their work. Forty were at work in La Place (the square) in the city, digging and removing the soil for the foundation of a house for the intendant.[1] These were chained two and two, and when one wheeled the mould, the other carried the chain; but in digging, sawing, and other stationary employments, both worked. Many were at work in the arsenal; and employed, some in moving, hewing and sawing timber; and others in the cotton and thread manufactory. The number of those engaged in the last of these employments was about two hundred. They were lodged in an adjoining hall; and I observed, that when they left off work they were searched to prevent their secreting any of the materials. All were loaded with chains of some kind or other. Those employed in the manufactory (and some others in the arsenal) had only a ring on one leg; but this, and likewise the choice of irons, I found to be a distinction which might be purchased. The slaves who worked out of the arsenal were loaded with heavy chains; and few are able to escape: if any do escape, they are punished, when retaken, in various ways. Some by a confinement under heavier irons—some by a recommencement of the term of their confinement—some by whipping—and such as had been condemned for life, by hanging.

"Protestants are not compelled to attend at mass. The last person who was confined for his religion, was released about eight years ago. There is but one slave here who now professes himself a Protestant, and his name is François Condé. He has been confined in the galleys forty-two years, for being concerned with some boys in a quarrel, with a gentleman (who lost his gold-headed cane) in a private house in Paris. The boys were apprehended, and this Condé, though only fourteen years of age, and lame of one arm, was condemned to the galleys for life. After four or five years he procured a Bible, and learned by himself to read; and becoming, through close attention to the Scriptures, convinced that his religion was anti-christian, he publicly renounced it; and declared and defended his sentiments. Ever since he has continued a steady Protestant, humble and modest, with a character irreproachable and exemplary,

[1] This house will spoil the beauty of the square.

respected and esteemed by his officers and fellow-prisoners. I brought away with me some musical pipes of his turning and tuning. He was in the galley appropriated to the infirm and aged; and these, besides the usual allowance of bread, have an additional allowance from the king of nine sous (4½d.) a day.[1]"

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 54, 55.]

## MALTA

"The prison at Malta consists of several dirty and offensive rooms in the town-house, where in April, 1786, there were nine prisoners. One of them, a Turk, had suffered the torture; in consequence of which a mortification had taken place, and the surgeon was applying the bark internally, and externally: the second time I saw him he was worse; but I did not continue long enough in the island to know the event.

"The slaves have many rooms, and each sect their chapels or mosques, and sick rooms apart. A woollen manufactory is carried on by some of them; but the majority are blacks, and unhappy objects. For the religion (the knights so called) being sworn to make perpetual war with the Turks, carry off by piracy many of the peasants, fishermen, or sailors from the Barbary coasts. How dreadful! that those who glory in bearing on their breasts the sign of the Prince of Peace, should harbour such malignant dispositions against their fellow creatures, and by their own example encourage piracy in the States of Barbary. Do not these knights by such conduct make themselves the worst enemies to the cross of Christ, under the pretence of friendship?"

## TURKEY

"ZANTE. Here is a prison in which was confined the principal pirate concerned in seizing the ship called the *Grand Duchess*, bound from Leghorn to London. Three volleys of shot having been aimed at him without killing him, he was dispatched by a

[1] I was informed by a very respectable person at Marseilles, that the brother of an ancient lady in his family was, several years ago, apprehended by some dragoons, as he was coming from a conventicle or protestant meeting; that his son saw him taken, and immediately went to the governor and offered himself instead of his father; and that he was accepted, and sent to the galleys for life; but at the end of ten years obtained his liberty by a lady's intercession; the father having just lived to see his son released.

pistol applied to his ear. His head and the heads of his two companions were fixed on poles. The two latter became mere skulls within two months, but his head and even his countenance continue (as I was assured) much the same, though three years have elapsed since his execution.

"In those cities which I have seen in Turkey, the debtors have a prison separate and distinct from the felons. Without such a separation in England, a thorough reformation of the gaols can never be effected.

"SMYRNA. The prison for criminals at Smyrna is situated near the sea, and consists of two rooms and a court. So speedy is the execution of justice here, that I found in this prison no more than seven prisoners at any of the three visits which I made to it in 1786. One of these prisoners having been bastinadoed so severely that he was swelled from head to foot, I advised him to bathe in the sea, and to apply to the soles of his feet plasters made of salt and vinegar. In the use of these means, with the addition of two doses of Glauber's salts, he recovered; and I acquired a credit which made the keepers, in my subsequent visits, particularly attentive to me.[1]

"The prison for debtors consists of four or five rooms, and a court to walk in. In this populous city I found but fourteen prisoners at one time, and at another time, not so many. Their subsistence depends chiefly on charity, and the collections made for them in the Greek and Roman Catholic churches."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 58, 61, 62.]

[1] One morning I attended the *Cadi* and other officers of the police when they visited the shops and examined the weights used in them, and the quality of the bread sold by the bakers. All false and light weights they cut and carried away. Such of the shopkeepers as were judged to be delinquents were either sent to prison, or immediately bastinadoed; that is, laid on their backs to receive on the soles of their feet, a number of strokes, at the discretion of the *Cadi*. I heard of a person who had received four or five hundred of these strokes; but I can hardly suppose it possible to survive a much less number. Such hasty executions of, what is here called justice, are very improper and cruel. The terror which appeared in the countenances of all the shopkeepers at these times implied, that the innocent as well as the guilty might suffer; and, indeed, it is scarcely possible this should not sometimes happen, the *Cadi*, who orders and superintends these punishments, continuing in his office only a year, and being generally young and inexperienced.

## SECTION V

### PRISONERS OF WAR IN ENGLAND, ETC.

When I visited my countrymen confined as prisoners of war in France, some of the commissaires and other gentlemen informed me, that they had received great complaints from the French prisoners in England. On my return in January, 1779, I waited on the commissioners of the sick and wounded seamen, and gave them an account of the English prisoners in France, and of my intention to visit the French prisoners. In order to assist me in this business, they very readily favoured me with letters to their agents at several prisons.

Having determined to take another general view of English prisons, to see what improvements had been made, in consequence of two late Acts of Parliament, and of the charges given by the judges in their circuits to the grand juries, I chose to begin my tour in those parts where most of the French prisoners were confined; and of them, therefore, I shall first give some account: in my narrative I now add my observations in 1782 on these and other prisoners of war, to whom I paid peculiar attention.

Winchester. There were a thousand and sixty-two French prisoners in the prison at Winchester, 2 March, 1779. The wards are lofty and spacious. The area large. The meat and beer were good: but the bread (being made with leaven and mixed with rye) was not so good as that at Bristol.[1] If two or three of the rooms had been used as workrooms, the health of the prisoners would have been promoted, and they would not have been indolently lying in their hammocks in the daytime; as I observed they were, both here and at Mill Prison.

Several prisoners were confined in the dark hole. Forty days' confinement on half allowance, in order to pay ten shillings to those that apprehend them after escapes, seems to be too

[1] I particularly observed the bread; for in France it was remarkably good and well baked. The prisoners are much happier when an attention is paid to this article.

severe a punishment. On such occasions, the observation of the worthy magistrates at Bern always occurs to my mind, "that every one must be desirous of regaining liberty."

The hospital wards were lofty, and upwards of twenty feet wide. Each patient had a cradle, bedding, and sheets; and the surgeon paid them great attention.

26 February, 1782, the prison was cleaner than at my former visit, and there were many improvements in the wards and courts. The well was in order. The number of prisoners was three hundred and twenty-eight French, three hundred and forty-nine Dutch, and seven hundred and thirty Spanish, besides in the infirmary, nine French, thirty-nine Dutch, and thirty-seven Spanish. On inquiring for the attentive surgeon, I was sorry to hear, he had died of the gaol-fever, which was fatal to many in this prison.

FORTON. In a prison not very convenient at Forton, near Gosport, there were a hundred and seventy-seven French prisoners, 2 March, 1779. On that day the meat was very bad, and had been killed, as the butcher's servant said, that morning: but it was returned, and Mr. Newsham the agent, procured them good meat instead of it. Most of the six-pound loaves wanted weight. I saw the bread weighed for a hundred and forty-two prisoners, and observed a deficiency of three pounds. The straw, by long use, was turned to dust in the mattresses, and many of them here, and at other places, had been emptied to clear them of vermin. The floors of the bedrooms and hospitals could not but be dirty and offensive, the boards having been laid rough. I took notice of this kind of bad policy in all the floors of the new prison which was then building here, and almost finished.

On the prisoners complaining that the bread was too light and the meat bad, I referred them to the ninth article of the regulations, by which they are directed to apply to the agent, and (if not redressed) to the commissioners. One of them pertinently replied, "How is that possible, when every letter is examined by the agent?" [1]

At my visit, 6 November, 1782, I found there was no separation of the Americans from other prisoners of war, and they had the same allowance of bread, viz., one pound and a half each.

[1] I could have wished, that the gentlemen concerned for the American prisoners, had extended their regards also to the French, and by their attention and visits had obliged the contractors to be more careful in discharging their duty.

There were a hundred and fifty-four French, thirty-four Dutch, and a hundred and thirty-three Americans; of these, twelve French, twenty-five Dutch, and nine Americans were in the hospital. The wards were not clean.[1] No regulations hung up. I weighed several of the six-pound loaves, and they all wanted some ounces of weight.

The American prisoners then had an allowance from the States, paid by order of Dr. Franklin. I found a gentleman of Portsmouth distributing this kind allowance. From Lady Day to Michaelmas, officers received one shilling per week, and seamen sixpence: and from Michaelmas to Lady Day, officers two shillings and seamen one shilling per week. American officers were not on parole as other officers.

Received into this prison,

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 June, 1777, to 6 Nov., 1782, | American | 1,200 | Died | 69 |
| 30 June, 1778 „ 6 Nov., 1782, | French | 11,720 | „ | 166 |
| 11 June, 1779 „ 3 July, 1782, | Spanish | 3,028 | „ | 167 |
| 30 Dec., 1780 „ 28 Sept., 1782, | Dutch | 934 | „ | 17 |
| | Total | 16,882 | | 419 |

Pembroke. On the 5th and 6th of June, 1779, I visited the prisons at Pembroke. There were fifty-six French prisoners in an old house adjoining to that in which the Americans were confined. Most of them had no shoes or stockings, and some were also without shirts. They had no victualling table, nor did they know what was their allowance. There were two or three who had their allowance in money, which should have been three shillings and sixpence a week each for their aliment, but sixpence was deducted. They lay, in general, on the boards without straw; for there were but four hammocks. in two rooms, each of which contained eighteen prisoners. Here was a courtyard, but no water or sewer.

Such observations as these have convinced me, that humanity and good policy require that inspectors of the prisoners of war should be appointed, who should be desired to report quarterly their state as to health, provisions, etc. No doubt some independent gentlemen in the neighbourhood would accept such a humane office without a salary.

In another view, also, such an appointment would be advan-

[1] It might have been better, if in the rooms appropriated to the sick there had been women nurses, as in the Royal Hospitals at Haslar and Plymouth, which are neat and clean.

tageous. These prisons are usually guarded by the militia, and the sentinels have in several instances shown themselves too ready to fire on the prisoners, in which they have been countenanced by inexperienced officers. Several persons have thus been killed on the spot, though perhaps there was no serious design of an escape. The agent is too much in awe of the officers to make inquiries and representations on these occasions; whereas an independent gentleman would probably exert himself in a proper manner.

## AMERICAN PRISONERS

PLYMOUTH. In Mill Prison near Plymouth, there were two hundred and ninety-eight American prisoners on 3 February, 1779. Their wards and court were spacious and convenient, and their bread, beer, and meat good. On 30 July, 1782, there were only seven American prisoners.

FORTON. The Americans were equally well accommodated at Forton near Gosport, where I found two hundred and fifty-one prisoners, 2 March, 1779.

The table of regulations was almost the same with that for the French prisoners. The principal difference was, that in the victualling table, the bread allowance was then only one pound a day. The meagre day was Saturday; and against the weekly article of two pints of peas, was added, "or greens in lieu." The regulation, Art. 5, is well worth copying. "As water and tubs for washing their linen and clothes, will be allowed, the prisoners are advised to keep their persons as clean as possible, it being very conducive to health."

PEMBROKE. At Pembroke, 5 June, 1779, there were confined in an old house thirty-seven American prisoners. Some of them were without shoes and stockings. There was no victualling table, or table of regulations; nor did they know what was the allowance ordered by Government. They lay on straw on the floor, and their straw had not been changed for six or seven weeks. By liberal subscriptions, ample provision had been made for the other American prisoners: I was sorry to find that these had been entirely overlooked.

In a house appropriated for a hospital, in which were some English sailors and French prisoners, I found also three American

prisoners, very poorly accommodated. I should not omit mentioning that I found the American prisoners (except at Pembroke) clean and well clothed—the latter, not entirely from the generous supplies they have had from this country, but in conjunction with that from their own. At my visits in 1782, the Americans were with the other prisoners of war, and had an allowance from the States; as I mentioned at Forton.

Before I leave this subject, it will be but justice to mention the care and assiduity of the commissioners, who themselves visited many of the prisons in England, and dismissed such agents as had abused their trust; and who are ready to receive any information which may be for the benefit of those committed to their care.

## SECTION VI

### SCOTCH AND IRISH PRISONS

It may not be improper, before I enter on a particular account of English prisons, to mention what further occurred to me that seemed worthy of observation, in my journeys into Scotland and Ireland in 1779, 1782 and 1783.

The prisons that I saw in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Stirling, Jedburgh, Haddington, Ayr, Kelso, Nairn, Banff, Inverness, etc., were old buildings, dirty and offensive, without courtyards and also generally without water.

If a prisoner for debt declares upon oath that he has not wherewithal to maintain himself, the creditor must aliment him within ten days after notice is given for that purpose, with at least threepence a day, but generally the magistrates order sixpence. By the process of *cessio bonorum*, a debtor after being a month in prison, may obtain his liberty, and be secured against execution for any previous debts, by making a surrender of all his effects to be divided among his creditors: though if he afterwards comes into better circumstances, his effects may be attached for the payment of those debts. This compassionate law prevents a creditor putting his debtor in prison, unless he has good reason to believe he is acting fraudulently.

Perjury is not frequent in Scotland. The oath, and the form of administering it, are very solemn. The witness, holding up his right hand, repeats the following words after the judge: "By God himself, and as you shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, you shall declare the truth, and nothing but the truth, in so far as you know, or shall be asked at you." The depositions are read over by the clerk, and signed by the witnesses and the judge. It is enacted by the twentieth of George II that "the circuit-courts shall be regularly held twice in every year, within that part of Great Britain, called Scotland, and the Judges thereof shall continue by the space of six days at least, at each town or place where the circuit-courts shall be held, for the dispatch of business."

There are in Scotland but few prisoners; this is partly owing

to the shame and disgrace annexed to imprisonment; partly to the solemn manner in which oaths are administered, and trials and executions conducted; and partly to the general sobriety of manners produced by the care which parents and ministers take to instruct the rising generation.[1]

I am indebted to Andrew Crosbie, Esq., for an account, from the clerk of the justiciary, of the executions from January 1768 to May 1782, from which it will appear, that in thirteen years and a half, there have been only fifty-four executed, and twenty-two pardoned.

In Scotland, executions formerly were not delayed after conviction or sentence; such delays being often equally injurious to the criminal and to society. Here, the punishment of the offender was made to appear the immediate consequence of his crime.

All criminals are tried out of irons; and when acquitted, they are immediately discharged in open court; and no gaoler has a fee from any criminal. Women are not put in irons in Scotland.

Edinburgh. In the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, 6 July, 1779, there were thirteen debtors and nine felons; and in the Canongate Tolbooth, there were five debtors and one felon: and in the house of correction there were fifty-three women, crowded into three dirty and offensive rooms, where they work and sleep. 28 March, 1782, there were in the Tolbooth, four debtors and twenty-three criminals; in the Canongate, two debtors; and in the house of correction, thirty-seven women.

I will only just mention the close confinement of poor[2] criminals in the Tolbooth, the horrid cage in the room known by that name, and the severity practised there of chaining the condemned to an iron bar; because I found that the late Provost, Mr. Steuart, was using his best endeavours to get a new gaol

[1] It is provided by statute in the sixth session of King William's first Parliament, 1696, chap. xxvi, "That there be a school settled and established, and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish" in Scotland, and the presbytery has the superintendence of the execution of this Act, which has been carefully attended to. Many schools are also settled by donations and legacies, and by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge; so that no parish is without a school, and in some there are four or five. In the southern parts of Scotland, it is very rare that you meet with any person that cannot both read and write. It is scandalous for any person not to be possessed of a Bible, which is always read in the parochial schools.

[2] I say poor, because such as have money have too much liberty. For in the same prison, I lately saw some, who were confined for a riot, drinking whisky in the tap-room, in company with many profligate townsmen, who were readily admitted, as they promoted the sale of the gaoler's liquors.

built, which should be subject to better regulations and stand in a more airy situation.

The number of prisoners, September 1782.

| | Debtors | Criminals |
|---|---|---|
| Edinburgh Tolbooth | 13 | 22 |
| Edinburgh Canongate | 3 | 2 |
| Dumfries | 3 | 0 |
| Perth | 4 | 3 |
| Aberdeen | 8 | 6 |
| Inverness | 3 | 5 |

INVERNESS. The Tolbooth at Inverness has no fire-place, and is the most dirty and offensive prison that I have seen in Scotland. (The room for debtors is sixteen feet by fourteen and a half: that for felons about thirteen feet and a half square, and only six feet and a half high; the window is twenty inches by six.)

In one of the piers of the stone bridge at Inverness, there is a vaulted room intended for a prison. This room was constructed in 1684, when the bridge was built, but had not been opened for three years before my late visit. Near the wall of the bridge there is a trap-door twenty-two inches square, and a few steps down from it, an iron door (two feet three inches wide, and two feet and a half high), from which there is a descent of a few steps more to the room just mentioned, which is ten feet four inches by seven feet six, and six feet high. On the sides there are a stone seat, a small window, and two apertures to dip for water, etc.

SCOTLAND. The following defects may be remarked in the prisons in Scotland.

They have no courts belonging to them;[1] generally want water and sewers; are not clean; they are not visited by the magistrates; too little attention is paid to the separation of the sexes; the keepers are allowed licences for the sale of the most pernicious liquors, the consequence of which is, that the county allowance being paid in money to the prisoners, they generally spend it in whisky instead of bread.

"We do not think it possible, that a nation can attain to

[1] The original cause of this seems to have been the following very severe maxim in the Scotch law. "After a debtor is imprisoned, he ought not to be indulged the benefit of the air, not even under a guard; for creditors have an interest, that their debtors be kept under close confinement, that, by the *squalor carceris*, they may be brought to pay their debt."—Act Sess. 14. June 1671. *The Principles of the Law of Scotland*, 5th edit., p. 461.

improvement in science, to refinement of taste, and in manners, without, at the same time, acquiring a refinement in their ideas of justice, and feelings of humanity."[1]

## IRELAND[2]

DUBLIN. I was happy in finding at Dublin in 1779, a new prison almost ready for the removal of the prisoners into more airy and convenient apartments, in which I hoped the shocking intercourse of the two sexes which took place in the old prison, would be avoided. This new prison is one hundred and seventy feet in length, and has separate courts for men and women. The cells on the first and second floors are about twelve feet by eight, and on the upper floor twelve by four, all arched with brick, to prevent danger from fire. I was sorry to find dungeons, and wished they might never be used, except at night for the condemned. It might be best to convert the chapel at the top of the house into an infirmary; for the sick rooms are too small, and likely to produce infection.

In the two courts are pumps. Great attention should be paid to air and cleanliness in the staircases, cells and vaults, and in the narrow passages, to prevent them from becoming offensive and infectious.[3] I well remember the dreadful state of Dublin Newgate in the beginning of the year 1775, when I saw numbers of poor creatures ill with the gaol-fever, unattended and disregarded.

The criminals in the gaols of Ireland are very numerous. One reason of this may be, that in this country there are no houses of correction, unless cages could be called so, in which drunken or riotous persons are locked up for a night or two.[4]

[1] Hugo Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 298.

[2] I have frequently referred, in the early parts of this work, to the Irish Acts of Parliament for the regulation of prisons, as containing many articles highly laudable and worthy of imitation. I am sorry, however, that it is necessary for me to say, that the policy of this country in these matters is as defective in point of execution, as it is commendable in theory.

[3] The passages are three feet and a half wide, and the staircases only two feet one inch.

[4] It may be an exception, that in a house adjoining to old Newgate called the "Black Dog," there were several fines, etc., and that in another house (a sort of bridewell adjoining to the workhouse in Dublin) I found in 1779 eleven young creatures; some of these for small offences were confined with outrageous lunatics. The magistrates seem to have overlooked a compassionate direction in an Act of their legislature (see 3rd of Geo. III, chap. xxviii) "that persons of insane mind and outrageous behaviour" are not to go in common with the other prisoners.

Another reason is, that acquitted persons are continued in confinement till they have discharged their fees to the clerk of the crown, or peace, the sheriff, gaoler and turnkey. Even boys almost naked, and under the age of twelve, are sometimes confined a year or two for these fees, though amounting to no more than about forty shillings. How surprising is it, that any kingdom can endure such injustice! It is a particular aggravation of it, that the prisoners thus confined, generally lose, at the same time, their allowance of bread. I have heard that Judge Aston (who was here Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas) often ordered the acquitted prisoners to be discharged. In 1779 I obtained the release of some boys from the county gaol at Kilmainham, on paying for them half fees; and of some others from Newgate, the sheriffs of Dublin consenting to relinquish their fees. But as those boys had been associated with the most profligate and abandoned felons for many months, I did not in the least wonder to find that some of them returned to their former habitation in a few days. In 1783 the deputy keeper of the new prison gave me a list of sixteen detained for their fees. At Kilmainham also I found there were fifteen acquitted prisoners confined for their fees in the dungeons. At both these prisons I restored to their families several who seemed the most proper objects of compassion. Some had children dying with the smallpox, others had hardly rags to cover them. But this distress had no more effect on the clerk of the crown, sheriffs and gaolers, than to engage them to give up half their fees.

In 1782, a Bill was brought in by Mr. Provost Hutchinson,[1] which passed into an Act for discharging all those who were then in confinement for fees only (twenty-first and twenty-second of George III, chap. xli). I have every reason to hope, from the attention and humanity of this gentleman, that during the present session, a perpetual Act for the same purpose will be passed.

On passing the old prison frequently, I could not avoid observing officers from the recruiting regiments waiting at the doors and windows, to receive either the offenders who were permitted to enlist, or any of their associates. When the excessive profligacy and daring wickedness of this set of people is considered, the most melancholy apprehensions must be

[1] I shall always reflect with pleasure on the unexpected honour which at this time was done me by the college, by presenting me with the degree of Doctor of Laws.

entertained, of the dreadful consequences likely to result from their mixture with those who may have had a sober education, and have entered voluntarily into the service of their country; and likewise of the danger to society in general, from turning loose such a set of wretches at the close of a war.

Our English prisons have also contributed their share towards recruiting the army, enlisting being the condition on which many have obtained their release from confinement, or immunity from some other punishment. I shall make no further remark on this practice, but that if it be a necessary one, the legislature may receive some satisfaction from the effects of their late salutary laws respecting the health of prisoners. If this mode had been adopted while prisons were in their former state, it would have been the occasion of carrying the most fatal diseases into the midst of our seamen and soldiers.

There is an Irish Act for preserving the health of prisoners, passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth of George III, chap. xxviii, similar to the English Act [1] for the same purpose. But I did not find it in any of the prisons. There is another Act of the same year, which is similar to the English Act, for "the punishment, by hard labour, of offenders who, for certain crimes, are or shall become liable to be transported." But the hulks on the Thames having cruelly destroyed many healthy and robust young men, their cries probably reached the Irish shore, and prevented any proceedings in consequence of that Act.

I carefully inspected the gaols in Dublin in 1783. The following remarks on the new prison I think particularly worth mentioning. It is not kept clean—The pumps being out of order there is no regular supply of water—There is no proper separation of the sexes from one another—or of petty offenders from the most abandoned criminals—Numbers of acquitted prisoners are detained for the fees—Such as are committed to hard labour are confined to idleness—There is no bedding, though the floors are stone—Spirituous liquors are sold in the

[1] This differs from the English Act in one important circumstance. The English Act requires "the walls and ceilings of the several cells and wards, both of the debtors and the felons, and also of any other rooms used by the prisoners in their respective gaols and prisons, where felons are usually confined, to be scraped and whitewashed, once in the year at least, to be regularly washed and kept clean, etc." whereas the Irish Act requires the same precautions in the cells, wards, and rooms of gaols and prisons without restriction; for the clause "where felons are usually confined" is omitted. I have known it pleaded as an excuse for not whitewashing and keeping clean the prisons in England where only debtors or petty offenders have been confined, that, they were not obliged to it by Act of Parliament.

prison—New-comers are robbed, or stripped and abused for the penny-pot or garnish—The proper prisoners have not the use of the day-rooms—The dungeons are used as lodging-rooms for prisoners before they are condemned—The sick have no proper rooms or beds, and no attention was paid to them[1]—No bath[2]—No divine service—The keeper does not reside in the prison—Criminals are made turnkeys—The Act for preserving the health of prisoners not hung up; nor any table of fees, rules or orders—The allowance, two-pennyworth of bread a day; but being delivered only twice a week, and not fixed by weight, some of the prisoners are almost starved.

To this gaol there are ample appointments. But such appointments can be of little consequence, while the sheriffs and magistrates neglect their duty, and seldom or never inspect the gaols or punish defaulters. Are not such magistrates inexcusably guilty? Should they not be considered as accessory to the crimes and abuses and miseries occasioned by their neglect?

Most of the remarks now made on this gaol at Dublin, are applicable to many of the county gaols.

I enumerate these particulars, not with a view of aggravating the idea of inattention to these objects in Ireland, or making a comparison between their management, and that in this country (which is still greatly defective); but with a view of inciting the public-spirited Irish gentlemen, now occupied on this subject, to set an example of a thorough and effectual reform, which may be imitated by this nation.

[1] Two of the committee of the House of Commons in June 1782 accompanied me to the new prison, and examined some of the sick who lay on the stone floors totally neglected. Dr. Cleghorn and Dr. Scott have been since ordered by the grand jury to attend them; but no bedding, no alteration of diet, and no nurses are ordered for them. I was sorry to find in 1783, that the former ingenious young physician had died of the gaol-fever.

[2] The only building designed for a bath which I saw in the gaols in Ireland, was in the courtyard at Trim, 17 June, 1782. I looked into it, and found it was the gaoler's pig-sty.

## IRISH PRISONS AND HOSPITALS

"DUBLIN. In 1787 and 1788, I visited the prisons in Dublin, and all the county gaols in Ireland; and had the pleasure to find that, in many places, gentlemen were attentive to this important part of the police. The grand juries have granted very liberal presentments, for the purpose of repairing or rebuilding their gaols, and for supplying prisoners with necessaries in sickness and health. On seeing gentlemen so liberal and benevolent, I could not but reflect with great concern, that many of the prisons now building will be monuments of the unskilfulness of the architects, who are ignorant of what constitutes a secure and healthy prison.

"The new gaols, having pompous fronts, appear like palaces to the lower class of people in Ireland; and some persons object against them on this account, especially those who are obliged to contribute towards their expense, and think it would be better if they were less commodious; but if strict regulations were observed, and an Act passed, absolutely prohibiting beer, as well as all sorts of spirituous liquors, from coming into a prison; and excluding visitants, except a few, and those at fixed times: then, there would be no danger of these gaols appearing too agreeable abodes; and the fear of such restraints would have a good tendency to prevent crimes; or the restraints themselves might be the means of reformation.

"At Dublin Newgate, there are no proper drains, no baths, no apartments for the gaoler. Many of the women lay on flag-stones, with a very little straw worn to dust. On the men's side, several boys, from nine to twelve years of age, were confined with the most daring offenders. There are many instances of persons dying by intoxication and fighting: one lay dead when I was in the infirmary, and another was killed a few days after.[1] But the magistrates having determined to make an alteration in this prison, I doubt not but a proper separation of prisoners, and an obligation on the keeper to reside in the

[1] I have good authority to assert, that in this prison a puncheon of whisky has been drunk in a week. Garnish is not abolished; and prisoners will sell their bread at any price to procure spirituous liquors.

prison, will prevent many irregularities; especially as they now have the constant assistance of a worthy and attentive clergyman. At my last visit, there was plenty of water in both the courts, and the women's court was paved.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1787, 29 May. | Debtor 1. | Felons, etc. 190. |
| 1788, 20 March. | „ 0. | „ 220. |

"Bridewell: An old house. No proper sewers; no materials for work. At one of my visits, I found that a person, lately committed, had several of his idle companions let in, who were playing with him at tennis.[1]

| | |
|---|---|
| 1787, 28 May. | Prisoners 6. |
| 1788, 20 March. | „ 12. |

"Police Prison: An old house repairing for a prison, according to the Act of twenty-sixth of George III, chap. xxiv. The night-rooms are dungeons seven steps under ground.

"Though in sect. xxiv ducking-stools are mentioned, and a large bath in the middle of the yard was designed for that purpose, yet I hope that this dangerous kind of severity, to young women, will not be used.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1787, 27 June. | Petty offenders 32. |
| 1788, 24 March. | „ „ 12. |

"Four-Court Marshalsea Prison: The lower rooms very dirty;—never whitewashed.—Six or eight in a room (about fourteen feet by thirteen). Each pays a penny a night; above stairs fifteen pence a week; for an entire room, five shillings a week; except one room (thirteen feet and a half by ten and a half) the pay for which is 3s. 9½d. All are without furniture. The rooms are crowded with wives (or reputed wives), children, dogs, etc. In most of the lower rooms, the debtors sell whisky;[2] one is a pawnbroker's shop. On the night preceding one of my visits, many had been gambling, drinking and fighting.

[1] It is a great defect in the police of this country that there are no proper places for the commitment and punishment of petty offenders: for the gaols, where there is neither solitary confinement, nor employment, and where frequent scenes of riot and drunkenness occur, as in most counties, are very unfit places for the correction of morals. Yet here persons sentenced at the assize for a fortnight's confinement, or for a trifling fine, are often detained till the next assize, through incapacity of paying the fees.

[2] Mr. Dexter, the marshal, told me, he was well assured from the best information, that when his prison was full, a hogshead of whisky had been sold in a week, in a clandestine manner, beside what was sold from his own tap.

The committee of the House of Commons reported 12 March, 1787, that "this prison appears a scene of disorder, irregularity, and intoxication." [1]

"LIMERICK. House of Industry: Very dirty; no order nor regulations. In the kitchen were fowls, and in other rooms, dogs; nuisances, very common in prisons and hospitals, in this country. At the end of the garden are several cells, where lunatics of both sexes were left to the care of one old man. Over these cells, improperly, is the infirmary, which was very dirty. 21 June, 1787, there were thirty-nine men and forty-two women.

"CASTLEBAR. County gaol: The old gaol has no court, no water. Many poor wretches have been almost suffocated in this small prison. Forty-two prisoners have been confined in a room twenty-one feet by seventeen. A new gaol is built on too small a scale, and the cells are close and dark. Gaoler's salary £30.

1788, 31 March. Debtors 4. Felons, etc., 6.

"CAVAN. County gaol: lately built. No court, though a convenient area is contiguous. Water from a well on the outside, into which I saw the rain-water run from the street. The rooms very dirty and offensive; never whitewashed. Prisoners double bolted. The bar-bolts are cruel; for they give more pain to the prisoners when lying or walking than iron chains. Windows closed for fear of tools being conveyed. Here I cannot but remonstrate against the negligence of inspectors and gaolers, and their idle excuses for the omission of washing prisons, on which the health of the prisoners so much depends. The gaoler lives at a distance; salary £20. But by a shameful neglect, neither his salary, nor the fees for acquitted prisoners have been paid him, for four or five years."

1787, 11 July, Debtor 1. Felons, etc., 36.

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 78–100.]

[1] It may be thought severe and cruel, especially to debtors, who are not delinquents, that no liquors should be admitted into prisons. But, though the greatest tenderness should be shown to such unfortunate persons, yet the restraint appears necessary; for many sober persons coming into prison, from uneasiness of mind, and the influence of bad examples, have acquired those habits which ended in their ruin: and, the quiet and orderly frequently complain of being disturbed by the noisy and quarrelsome. It appears therefore absolutely necessary, that a new body of rules and orders be fixed by Parliament, for the government of debtors, as well as felons, in all prisons. And that not even felons, much less debtors, should be left to the capricious mandates of an insulting gaoler or his turnkeys.

# SECTION VII

## A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH PRISONS

As the tables of which the present section will chiefly consist, contain several terms which cannot be familiar to the generality of my readers, I shall begin with an explanation of them.

In the first page of every county, city, etc., the second article of the gaoler or keeper's emolument is Fees; by which are meant such only as are taken by him and his servants on the admission or discharge of a prisoner. The sums set down against this article are from the best information I could procure in my repeated journeys; but they differ sometimes from those specified in the tables of fees, where such are found.

The next article under gaoler is Transports. The sum set down to this, is what (from the best intelligence I could gain) I found was allowed them for conveying convicts sentenced to transportation to the respective seaports; and for paying the merchant or contractor what he was supposed to demand for their passage: although by the statutes fourth George I and and eighth of his present Majesty, it is enacted that "The person or persons so contracting . . . shall have a property and interest in the service of the said offenders for such terms of years."

With respect to the following article, Licence, I shall observe that in some places, as at Warwick, Oxford, Worcester, Exeter, Chester City, Yarmouth, Colchester, Carlisle, Montgomery, Monmouth, Usk, etc., the gaoler has no licence, and yet is permitted, by connivance, to sell beer, and some gaolers even wine to the prisoners, and their visitors. In these cases I have made no distinction.

Under Prisoners in the same page, the number which I found in the respective county gaol on my different visits is distinguished into debtors and felons, etc. The etc. is meant to include two kinds of prisoners chiefly; viz. fines and petty offenders. By fines are understood such as are detained till they pay a sum of money, a fine—such as are obliged to find security for good behaviour—and such as are committed for a

limited term to mere confinement, or (which is much the same) to hard labour. Of these latter some have been previously whipped, or burnt in the hand. The petty offenders are such as are sent to gaols instead of bridewells, for reasons mentioned in a former section. These also in some gaols are called fines. Besides these there are sometimes a few deserters, which I have generally mentioned.

Wherever there were tables of fees, I thought myself obliged to give exact and literal copies of them: I am not therefore answerable for the improprieties of expression, or defects of form to be found in some of them: but to prevent tiresome and useless repetitions, I have abridged the formalities of preamble and conclusion. For the same reason, I have used the same liberty, with regard to the rules and orders of the few prisons that have such; as I have done likewise by the lists of benefactions and legacies. Where no mention is made of rules, etc., it may be concluded, that there are none hung up in that prison. Where there is no table of fees, I commonly note the defect.[1]

I have described no prison but from my own examination at the several dates set down before the number of prisoners. At each visit I entered every room, cell, and dungeon with a memorandum book in my hand, in which I noted particulars upon the spot. My description will to some readers appear too minute; but I chose rather to relate circumstances, than to characterise in general terms. By these, the legislature will be better acquainted with the real state of gaols; and magistrates will be able to judge whether the prisons over which they preside, and to which they commit offenders, be fit for the purposes they are designed to answer. I might add, that a variety of descriptions may possibly suggest something useful in the plans of such prisons as may hereafter be erected; since whatever may appear worth copying may be extracted from any.[2]

I have here and there taken the liberty of pointing out what

[1] It should be observed, that by the statute thirty-second George II, if any gaoler, or keeper, demand fees not set down in a table signed by the justices, and afterwards confirmed by the judge or judges of assize, and justices, and hung up conspicuous in the prison; such demand is illegal, and the offender is liable to a penalty of fifty pounds to the person injured.

[2] My minuteness with respect to measurements and other circumstances relating to the construction and government of these buildings, will require no apology with those who consider, that in the formation of new establishments, it is of use to be acquainted with many things which, though apparently trivial, are frequently of material consequence to the purposes intended to be answered.

seemed to me, as I viewed a prison, an obvious remedy of some defect that happened to strike me. But I did not examine with the accuracy of a surveyor; and hope I shall not be thought to direct in the style of a dictator.

As in my first edition, I mentioned, that the state of some of our prisons was so much altered for the better, that an idea could scarcely be formed of the condition they had been in a few years ago; so I have now the additional satisfaction to remark, that the humanity and attention of the magistrates in some counties, have enabled me in this edition to erase the notes of censure respecting the management of gaols as to cleanliness, aliment, bedding, and the like, which I thought it my duty before to insert.

## THE TOWER

The Tower is a strong fortress, and the only prison in England for State delinquents of rank. The care of it is committed to an officer called the Constable of the Tower, who has under him a lieutenant, a deputy-lieutenant called the governor, and many other officers, among whom are forty warders, whose uniform is the same with the king's yeomen of the guards. Nineteen of these warders have separate houses well furnished, in any of which, as the governor is pleased to order, the State delinquents may be confined; and the custom has been to assign them two of the best rooms on the first floor: then, iron bars are fixed to their windows by the Board of Works. Sometimes they are committed to close confinement; but in general they are at liberty to walk in the area of the Tower, attended always with a warder.

There had been no prisoners here for several years before my visit in 1779; and when there are any, they are soon brought to a legal trial, and consequently their confinement can never be long. Six shillings and eightpence a day are allowed by Government for their subsistence; but they seldom accept this allowance.

September 1, 1783, there were no prisoners. Mr. Laurens was the last, who went out 31 December, 1781.

In this fortress, besides the houses just mentioned, there are several public offices and store-houses; such, particularly, as the Office of Ordnance, the Jewel Office, the Mint, and buildings for holding artillery and arms.

## NEWGATE [1]

*Gaoler.* Richard Akerman.

Salary £200.

Fees: Debtors . . . £0 8s. 10d.
Felons . . . £0 18s. 10d.
Misdemeanours or Fines £0 14s. 10d.
Transports . . . £0 14s. 10d.

Licence: Beer and wine.

*Prisoners.*

Allowance: Debtors, Felons, } a penny loaf a day (weight December 1782, 8½ oz. August 1783, 9½ oz.). Now, felons on the common side a three halfpenny loaf. (*See* remarks.)

Garnish: Debtors, £0 5s. 6d.
Felons, etc. £0 2s. 6d.

Number:

| | Debtors | Felons | | Debtors | Felons |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1775. 5 March | 33 | 190 | 1779. 16 Aug. | 51 | 141 |
| 1776. 1 March | 38 | 129 | 1782. 18 Dec. | 3 | 291 |
| 1776. 17 May | 46 | 212 | 1783. 22 Aug. | 113 | 224 |
| 1776. 26 Dec. | 33 | 152 | | | |

*Chaplain.* Rev. Mr. Villette.

Duty: Sunday twice; every day prayers with the condemned; once a month sacrament.

Salary: Was £35, etc., now augmented. (*See* remarks.)

*Surgeon.* Mr. Olney.

Salary: £50, now £100, for all prisoners.[2]

The builders of Old Newgate seem to have regarded in their plan, nothing but the single article of keeping prisoners in safe custody. The rooms and cells were so close, as to be almost the constant seats of disease, and sources of infection; to the destruction of multitudes, not only in the prison, but abroad. The city had therefore very good reason for their resolution to build a new gaol. Many inconveniences of the old gaol are avoided in this new one: but it has some manifest errors. It is now too late to point out particulars. All I will say, is, that without more than ordinary care, the prisoners in it will be in great danger of the gaol-fever.

[1] Finally demolished in 1903.—[Ed.]

[2] A statistical digest such as this appears at the head of Howard's descriptions of all the more important gaols. All but a few have been omitted in this reprint, for obvious reasons.—[Ed.]

The cells built in Old Newgate a few years since for condemned malefactors, are still used for the same purpose. I shall therefore give some account of them. There are upon each of the three floors five; all vaulted, near nine feet high to the crown. Those on the ground-floor measure full nine feet by near six; the five on the first story are a little larger (9½ by 6) on account of the set-off in the wall; and the five uppermost, still a little larger for the same reason. In the upper part of each cell, is a window double grated, near three feet by one and a half. The doors are four inches thick. The strong stone wall is lined all round each cell with planks, studded with broad-headed nails. In each cell is a barrack-bedstead. I was told by those who attended them, that criminals who had affected an air of boldness during their trial, and appeared quite unconcerned at the pronouncing sentence upon them, were struck with horror, and shed tears, when brought to these darksome solitary abodes.

The chapel is plain and neat. Below is the chaplain's seat, and three or four pews for the felons; that in the centre is for the condemned. On each side is a gallery: that for the women is towards their ward: in it is a pew for the keeper, whose presence may set a good example, and be otherwise useful. The other gallery towards the debtors' ward is for them. The stairs to each gallery are on the outside of the chapel. I attended there several times, and Mr. Villette read the prayers distinctly, and with propriety: the prisoners who were present, seemed attentive; but we were disturbed by the noise in the court. Surely they who will not go to chapel, who are by far the greater number, should be locked up in their rooms during the time of divine service, and not suffered to hinder the edification of such as are better disposed.

The chaplain (or ordinary) besides his salary, has a house in Newgate Street, clear of land-tax; Lady Barnardiston's legacy, £6 a year; an old legacy paid by the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, £10 a year; and lately had two freedoms yearly, which commonly sold for £25 each; and the city generally presented him once in six months with another freedom. Now he has not the freedoms, but his salary is augmented to £180, and the sheriffs pay him £3 12s. He engages when chosen to hold no other living.

Debtors have every Saturday from the Chamber of London eight stone of beef: fines four stone: and some years felons eight stone. Debtors have several legacies. I inquired for a list of

them, and Mr. Akerman told me the table in *Maitland's Survey* was authentic. The amount of it is £52 5s. 8d. a year. There are other donations mentioned by Maitland, amounting to sixty-four stone of beef, and five dozen of bread.

To these he adds the donation of "Robert Dow, who left £1 6s. 8d. yearly for ever to the sexton or bellman of St. Sepulchre's, to pronounce solemnly two exhortations to the persons condemned, the night before their execution; in these words:

"You prisoners who are within
Who for wickedness and sin,

after many mercies shown you, are now appointed to die to-morrow in the forenoon, give ear and understand that to-morrow morning the greatest bell of St. Sepulchre's shall toll for you in form and manner of a passing bell as used to be tolled for those that are at the point of death, to the end that all godly people may pray, etc., etc."

Here I cannot forbear mentioning a practice which probably had its origin from the ancient mode of torture, though now it seems only a matter of form. When prisoners capitally convicted at the Old Bailey are brought up to receive sentence, and the judge asks, "What have you to say why judgment of death and execution should not be awarded against you," the executioner slips a whipcord noose about their thumbs. This custom ought to be abolished.

At my visit in 1779, the gaol was clean, and free from offensive scents. On the felons' side, there were only three sick, in one of the upper wards. An infirmary was building near the condemned cells. Of the one hundred and forty-one felons, etc., there were ninety-one convicts and fines, who had only the prison allowance of a penny loaf a day. Mr. Akerman generously contributed towards their relief. In the felons' court, the table of fees painted on a board was hung up.

This gaol was burnt by the rioters[1] in 1780, but is rebuilt on the same plan. The men's quadrangle is now divided into three courts. In the first court, are those who pay three shillings and sixpence a week for a bed; in the next, the poorer felons; and in the other, now the women. Under the chapel, are cells for the refractory. Two rooms, adjoining to the condemned cells, are built for an infirmary, in one of which at my last visit there were sixteen sick. Of the two hundred and

[1] The riots mentioned here and elsewhere were the Gordon Riots. See *Barnaby Rudge*.—[Ed.]

ninety-one prisoners in 1782, two hundred and twenty-five were men, and sixty-six women. Upwards of a hundred of them were transports, eighty-nine fines, twenty-one under sentence of death, and the remainder lay for trial. Some of the condemned had been long sick, and languishing in their cells.[1]

## TABLE OF FEES

*London sc.* A TABLE of FEES to be taken by the gaoler or keeper of Newgate within the said City of London for any prisoner or prisoners committed or coming into gaol or chamber-rent there or discharge from thence in any civil action settled and established the nineteenth day of December in the third year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Second *Annoque Domini* 1729 pursuant to an Act of Parliament lately made intituled An Act for the Relief of Debtors with respect to the Imprisonment of their Persons.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Every prisoner on the master-side shall pay to the keeper for his entrance fee . . . . . | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Every prisoner on the master-side shall pay for chamber-room, use of bed, bedding and sheets to the keeper there being two in a bed and no more each per week . . | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Every prisoner on the said master-side who at his own desire shall have a bed to himself, shall pay to the keeper for chamber-room, use of bed, bedding and sheets per week . . . . . | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Every debtor shall pay to the keeper for his discharging fee | 0 | 6 | 10 |
| And to all the turnkeys two shillings and no more . . | 0 | 2 | 0 |

No other fee for the use of chamber bed bedding or sheets or upon the commitments or discharge of any prisoner on any civil action.

*Edwd. Becher* — ROBT. RAYMOND
*Robt. Alsop* — R. EYRE
*Jno. Barnard* — THOS. PENGELLY.

Mr. Akerman showed me another table of fees, which was given him for his direction when he commenced keeper. It is as follows:

FEES to be taken by the keeper of Newgate

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| For every debtor's discharge . . . . . | 0 | 8 | 10 |
| For every felon's discharge . . . . . | 0 | 18 | 10 |
| For every misdemeanour . . . . . | 0 | 14 | 10 |

[1] An execution day is too much, with us, a day of riot and idleness, and it is found by experience, that the minds of the populace are rather hardened by the spectacle, than affected in any salutary manner. Might not these evils be amended by having the report within a week after sentence, and the execution soon after, either in the area before Newgate, or before the sessions-house?

Since the above was written, I learn with satisfaction that the place of execution is altered according to the foregoing idea.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Every debtor's entrance on the master's side | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Every felon's entrance on the master's side | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Every person admitted into the press-yard | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| For every transport's discharge | 0 | 14 | 10 |
| For every bailable warrant | 3 | 6 | 8 |

*Rix.*

*Rob. Willmott.*
*Rob. Ladbroke.*
*Walter Bernard.*
*Samuel Pennant.*

In three or four rooms there were near one hundred and fifty women crowded together, many young creatures with the old and hardened, some of whom had been confined upwards of two years: on the men's side likewise there were many boys of twelve or fourteen years of age; some almost naked. In the men's infirmary, there were only seven iron bedsteads; and at my last visit, there being twenty sick, some of them, naked and with sores, in a miserable condition, lay on the floor with only a rug. There were four sick in the infirmary for women, which is only fifteen feet and a half by twelve, has but one window, and no bedsteads; sewers offensive: prison not whitewashed. Keeper's salary £450 in lieu of the tap. I found some of the debtors had in their apartments casks of beer for sale; and on the felons' side a person stood with cans of beer. At my last visit I went over the wards of the criminals with Mr. Curtis the new sheriff, from whose activity and zeal I would hope something may be done for the naked objects left by the late sheriffs.

1787, 18 March, Debtors 140. Felons, etc. 350.
1788, 26 Aug., „ 114. „ 499, viz.

Men debtors 96, women 12; County Court debtors 5; Excise debtor 1; capital convicts, 10 men and 1 woman; capital convicts respited, 63 men and 19 women; transports, 183 men and 103 women; fines, 40 men and 4 women; for trial, 57 men and 19 women.

## HIS MAJESTY'S PRISON

## THE FLEET,[1] FOR DEBTORS

*Warden.* John Eyles, Esq.

Deputy Warden and Clerk of the Papers: Daniel Hopkins, now William Lowe.

Salary:

Fees: £1 6s. 8d.
£0 2s. 0d. turnkey.

Licence: Beer and Wine to John Cartwright, now William Hall, who holds of the warden on lease the tap, etc. (*See* remarks.)

*Prisoners.*

Allowance: none.
Garnish: £0 2s. 0d.
Number:

| | | In House | In Rules[2] | | | In House | In Rules |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1774. | 26 April | 171 | 71 | 1782. | 8 Jan. | 62 | 6 |
| 1776. | 2 April | 241 | 78 | 1782. | 30 Dec. | 159 | 31 |
| 1779. | 13 Aug. | 147 | 37 | 1783. | 27 Aug. | 141 | 49 |

*Chaplain.* Rev. Mr. Horner.

Duty: Sunday; Wednesday prayers.
Salary:

*Surgeon.* None.

To this prison were committed formerly those who incurred the displeasure of the Star-chamber. In the sixteenth of Charles I, when that court was abolished, it became a prison for debtors; and for persons charged with contempts of the Courts of Chancery, Exchequer, and Common Pleas.

In 1728, many abuses practised by the warden were the subject of parliamentary inquiry.

The prison was rebuilt a few years since. At the front is a narrow court. At each end of the building, there is a small projection, or wing. There are four floors, they call them galleries, besides the cellar floor, called Bartholomew Fair. Each gallery consists of a passage in the middle, the whole length of the prison, sixty-six yards; and rooms on each side of it about fourteen and a half by twelve and a half feet, and nine and a half feet high. A chimney and window in every room. The passages are narrow (not seven feet wide) and

[1] Demolished 1845–6.—[Ed.]

[2] "Rules" is another word for bounds. A few prisons had a certain number of houses within their boundaries.—[Ed.]

darkish, having only a window at each end. On the first floor, the hall gallery, to which you ascend by eight steps, are a chapel, a tap-room, a coffee-room (made out of two rooms for debtors), a room for the turnkey, another for the watchman, and eighteen rooms for prisoners. Besides the coffee-room and tap-room, two of those eighteen rooms, and all the cellar-floor, except a lock-up room to confine the disorderly, and another room for the turnkey, were held by the tapster, John Cartwright, who bought the remainder of the lease at public auction in 1775. The cellar floor is sixteen steps below the hall gallery. It consists of the two rooms just now mentioned, the tapster's kitchen, his four large beer and wine cellars, and fifteen rooms for prisoners. These fifteen, and the two before-mentioned on the hall gallery, the tapster lets to prisoners for from four to eight shillings a week.[1]

On the first gallery (that next above the hall gallery) are twenty-five rooms for prisoners. On the second gallery twenty-seven: one of them, fronting the staircase, is their committee-room. A room at one end is an infirmary. At the other end, in a large room over the chapel, is a dirty billiard-table; kept by the prisoner who sleeps in that room. On the highest story are twenty-seven rooms. Some of these upper rooms, viz. those in the wings, are larger than the rest; being over the chapel, the tap-room, etc. All the rooms I have mentioned are for master's-side debtors. The weekly rent of those not held by the tapster is 1s. 3d. unfurnished. They fall to the prisoners in succession, thus: when a room becomes vacant, the first prisoner upon the list of such as have paid their entrance-fees, takes possession of it. When the prison was built, the warden gave each prisoner his choice of a room according to his seniority as prisoner. If all the rooms be occupied, a new-comer must hire of some tenant a part of his room; or shift as he can. Prisoners are excluded from all right of succession to the rooms held by the tapster, and let at the high rents aforesaid. The apartments for common-side debtors are only part of the right wing of the prison. Besides the cellar (which was intended for their kitchen, but is occupied with lumber, and shut up) there are four floors. On each floor is a room about twenty-four or twenty-five feet square, with a fire-place; and on the sides, seven closets or cabins to sleep in. Such of these prisoners as swear in court or before a commissioner that they are not

[1] An imposition of the same kind is noted in the report of the gaol committee, 20 March, 1728, p. 8.

worth five pounds, and cannot subsist without charity, have the donations which are sent to the prison, the begging-box, and the grate. Of them there were at one of my visits sixteen, at some other times not so many.

I have in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons 1728, a table of some charities: but no such table was hung up in the prison.

There is plenty of water from the river and pumps; and a spacious court behind the prison.

I mentioned the billiard-table. They also play in the court-yard at skittles, mississippi, fives, tennis, etc. And not only the prisoners: I saw among them several butchers and others from the market; who are admitted here as at another public house. The same may be seen in many other prisons where the gaolor keeps or lets the tap. Besides the inconvenience of this to prisoners, the frequenting a prison lessens the dread of being confined in one. On Monday night there was a wine-club: on Thursday night a beer-club: each lasting usually till one or two in the morning. I need not say how much riot these occasion; and how the sober prisoners, and those that are sick, are annoyed by them.

Seeing the prison crowded with women and children, I procured an accurate list of them; and found that on (or about) 6 April, 1776, when there were on the master's-side 213 prisoners, on the common-side 30, total 243; their wives (including women of an appellation not so honourable) and children were 475.

I was surprised to see in this prison, a table of fees containing only those of the clerks of the papers and inquiries; and that the date of it was 1727, i.e. before the committee of the House of Commons made their inquiry. I did not doubt but another table was settled after that inquiry; and that it contained the warden's fees also. But upon asking the clerk of the papers for a later table, I was referred to that which hung up. It is as follows.

A TABLE of FEES to be taken by the Clerk of the Papers and by the Clerk of the Inquiries of the Fleet Prison pursuant to the Resolution of the Honourable XX of the Court of Common Pleas in the Easter and Trinity Terms 13th GEORGE I. 1727.

| RESOLUTION | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6th. That there is due and ought to be paid to the clerk of the papers for every discharge of every action | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| And for the copy of every cause not exceeding three | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| And for each and every cause exceeding three causes | 0 | 0 | 4 |

| | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Besides the 1s. a piece for each of the said first three causes | | | |
| 7th. | That there is due and ought to be paid to the clerk of the papers for his certificate of the prisoner's discharge delivered to the prisoner himself without any regard to the number of causes he stood charged with . . . . . | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | And for his certificate to the warden of such discharge . . . . . | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 8th. | That there is due and ought to be paid to the clerk of the inquiries on the discharge of a prisoner by the creditor and not by *supersedeas* . . . . | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 14th. | That there is a fee of 5s. 4d. due to the clerk of the papers for the allowance of every writ of habeas corpus and 4s. for the return of the first cause and 2s. for every other cause and no more. | | | |

There is in the prison a table of rules or orders. They were made at very distant times, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to the date they bear; and some of them partly coincide with others: those which do so I have put together to avoid repetition, and have presumed to abridge the whole.

## HILARY 3d GEORGE II. 1729

1, 2, 3. Warden or deputy to appoint turnkeys etc. with arms: to stop persons bringing arms, and watch if an escape be in agitation.

4. Warden to distribute charity-money. He, or his agent, to keep one key of the box; and the prisoners another.

5, 6, 12. If a master-side debtor shall neglect for three months to pay his chamber-rent; the warden may, not lock him up, but, remove him to the common-side; delivering to him his goods by a witnessed inventory. After discharge, if legal dues be still unpaid, he may be detained in the common-ward: the door of which is never to be shut but at night (summer at ten, winter at nine): and then a watchman must attend to open it for those who must go to the yard, etc.

7. Such as attempt to escape, or greatly misbehave, may be shut up in a close room or dungeon.
N.B. It was reported to the four judges whose names are here subscribed, and who made inquiry concerning it, to be "boarded wholesome and dry."

8, 18. Warden to repair the whole house, chapel, drains, etc., and keep all clean. To take care that divine service be duly performed, and the sacraments administered. Prisoners to attend.

9. Against clandestine Fleet-marriages.

10. Those who blaspheme, curse, swear, or are disorderly, to be set in the stocks.

11, 13. Warden or deputy to dispose of the chambers, and tap: and see that good order be observed in the public rooms, etc.

14. Warden to take effectual care that no prisoner be carried to a spunging-house; and that no garnish be demanded from a new-comer.

15. Warden to cause a table of gifts and bequests, written in a fair and legible hand, to be hung up in the hall. And to see that no prisoner be defrauded of his share. None of the servants to partake or distribute.

16. Every prisoner not worth five pounds, etc. (As before in remarks.)

17. Two rooms to be an infirmary for common-side debtors. No prisoner obliged to sleep with one that is diseased.

19. Coroner's inquest upon the dead: and corpse to be delivered to the friends, free of cost.

20. Warden not to remove a prisoner to the King's Bench by habeas corpus.

21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. Warden to keep books, and register commitments, courts from whence, declarations, discharges, writs of habeas corpus. Tipstaff and judge's clerk to keep each a separate book of prisoners delivered up at a judge's chamber.

27. All those books, except the tipstaff's, to be kept in the public office of the clerk of the papers; accessible to all persons for copying, etc.

28. No clerk, officer, or servant of any judge to take a fee on occasion of a petition or complaint, founded upon the foregoing orders, or any misgovernment.

29. That the warden and his officers do treat the several prisoners in his custody with all tenderness and humanity: and that such prisoners do behave themselves toward the warden with that submission and regard which the law requires.

R. Eyre — Alex. Denton
Robt. Price — J. Fortescue a.

There was, moreover, a little code of laws, eighteen in number, enacted by the master's-side debtors, and printed by D. Jones 1774. It established a president, a secretary, and a committee, which was to be chosen every month, and to consist of three members from each gallery. These were to meet in the committee-room every Thursday: and at other times when summoned by the crier, at command of the president, or of a majority of their own number. They were to raise contributions by assessment: to hear complaints: determine disputes: levy fines; and seize goods for payment. Their sense to be deemed the sense of the whole house. The president or secretary to hold the cash; the committee to dispose of it. Their scavenger to wash the galleries once a week; to water and sweep them every morning before eight; to sweep the yard twice every week; and to light the lamps all over the house. No person to throw out water, etc., anywhere but at the sinks in the

yard. The crier might take of a stranger a penny for calling a prisoner to him; and of a complainant two pence for summoning a special committee. For blasphemy, swearing, riot, drunkenness, etc., the committee to fine at discretion: for damaging a lamp, fine a shilling. They were to take from a new-comer, on the first Sunday, besides the two shillings garnish to be spent in wine, one shilling and sixpence to be appropriated to the use of the house.

Common-side prisoners to be confined to their own apartments, and not to associate with these lawmakers, nor to use the same conveniences.

The above was the account of the Fleet before it was burnt by the rioters in 1780. It is rebuilt on the same plan. The floors of the cellar, the hall, and the first story are now stone, and arched with brick. The tapster still has all the cellar-floor. He and several of the prisoners keep dogs, which nuisance should never be permitted in prisons. The billiard and missis-sippi tables are put down, and the little code of laws abolished. In 1783, from 7 July to 25 Aug., not one prisoner was brought in. Robert Baffan, a crown prisoner, was committed 29 Nov., 1776, and after the fire surrendered himself under the proclamation 17 Nov., 1781, and was here at my last visit. Clauses against spirituous liquors are hung up. Now also is hung up the following table of fees.

A TABLE of FEES to be taken by the Warden of the Prison of the Fleet, for any prisoner or prisoners commitment, or coming into gaol or chamber rent there, or discharge from thence, in any civil action. Settled and established the nineteenth day of January, in the third year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Second, A.D. 1729, pursuant to an Act of Parliament lately made, intitled, An Act for the Relief of Debtors, in respect to the Imprisonment of their Persons.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Every prisoner charged with one or more actions (who at his own desire shall go on the master's-side) to pay to the warden for a commitment fee . . . . . | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| Every prisoner charged with one or more actions (who shall go on the common-side) not being intitled to partake of the poor's box, to pay . . . . . | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| Every prisoner intitled to partake of the poor's box, nothing . . . . . | | | |
| Every prisoner to pay for his discharge . . . . | 0 | 7 | 4 |
| Every such prisoner on the master's-side, who at his own desire shall have a bed to himself, to pay for chamber room, use of bed, bedding and sheets, to the warden per week . . . . . | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| If two in a bed, and no more, for chamber room, use of bed, bedding and sheets, each to pay to the warden per week | 0 | 1 | 3 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| If the prisoner finds his own bed, bedding and sheets which the warden is in no sort to hinder him of, then he shall pay for chamber room to the warden per week | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| If there be two prisoners in one bed, finding their own bed, bedding and sheets, then each of them to pay to the warden per week . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 7½ |
| Every prisoner not being intitled to partake of the poor's box, to pay to the porter and gaoler, now called turnkeys, on his commitment . . . . . | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Every prisoner on a commitment upon a surrender at a judge's chamber, to pay to the tipstaff . . . | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| Every prisoner on a commitment upon a habeas corpus at a judge's chambers, to pay to the tipstaff . . | 0 | 4 | 2 |
| Every prisoner on a commitment in court, to pay to the tipstaff . . . . . | 0 | 7 | 6 |

No other fees for any prisoner for the use of chamber, bed, bedding or sheets, or upon commitment or discharge of any prisoner in any civil action, nor any commitment fee to be taken of any prisoner intitled to partake of the poor's box, nor any chamber rent to be taken of any prisoner on the common side.

*Ed. Bellamy.* R. Raymond.
*John Thompson.* R. Eyre.
*Rob. Alsop.* Tho. Pengelly.
*John Barnard.*

## POULTRY COMPTER

For master's-side debtors there are about fifteen rooms between the inner and outer gates. For common-side debtors, six wards within the inner gate, two of them on the ground-floor, viz. the King's Ward, in which (1776) were twenty-four debtors; and the Prince's Ward, nine debtors. Above those wards are the Middle Ward, in it were twenty debtors; and the Women's Ward, two debtors. Above them are the Upper Ward, eleven debtors; and the Jews' Ward, four Jew debtors.[1] Near the middle ward, on the same floor, is a close darkish room for the sick. In each ward, a fire-place. In one of the rooms on the second floor (called the pump-room), the debtors have the convenience of water. The rooms are out of repair: but the debtors keep their floors very clean. The court is small,

[1] It were to be wished that in other prisons also, those people had the generous and just indulgence of being kept separate.

but being paved with flat stones and the water constantly running, it is fresh and clean.

The tap-room is in the court. Adjoining is the day-room, the Bell, for men and women felons. In a small court, there are two strong rooms (planked and studded with nails) for men felons; and upstairs another night-room for men, and one for women. The women's room was formerly occupied for a workshop by a prisoner, a cooper; and the women slept in the Bell below. No straw or bedding.

On one side of the court is a chapel; with a gallery for master's-side debtors. The chapel, and indeed the whole of this prison, was quite out of repair: but at my last visit was thoroughly repaired and whitewashed. For this improvement the prisoners are obliged to the spirited and humane exertion of Mr. Sheriff Taylor.

At the roof of the prison, are spacious leads, on which the master's-side debtors are sometimes allowed to walk: but then the keeper is with them: for the leads communicate with the adjoining houses, one of which affords a ready escape from so close a prison in case of fire.

Besides the penny loaf a day, which is from the Chamber of London, there are some legacies to the debtors paid by the companies in this city, amounting to about £60 a year: they have also from the sheriffs thirty-two pounds of beef on Saturdays, and they had formerly from the Peacock brewhouse (Messrs. Calvert and Co.) a kind donation of two barrels of small beer a week.

In this prison eight men in 1776 had with them their wives and nineteen children. The other prisoners, I learned, had forty-four wives and one hundred and forty-four children, not in the gaol.

The Act for preserving the health of prisoners is not hung up. There is now painted on a board at the door, that no visitors are to be admitted on Sundays, from ten to twelve in the morning, nor from three to four in the afternoon.

The keeper pays to the Chamber of London £30 a year rent, which is refunded to him for his trouble on night-charges.[1] He also pays window-tax, etc.

[1] At this prison, as well as at New Ludgate, the Fleet, and King's Bench, I heard of the frequent visits of Dr. William Smith in 1776; who had been desired to visit the sick in the prisons of London, Westminster, and Southwark, by the committee of the Westminster charity, in consequence of their humane resolution to appropriate to this purpose the surplus of a collection made in the hard winter of 1776. Sir Charles Whitworth,

## WOOD STREET COMPTER

This prison, built, as appears by inscription on the front, in 1670, has only a small court or passage for all prisoners. Many apartments: yet but two rooms for common-side debtors: that for men, which is their day-room, night-room, and kitchen, with a copper, etc., is dark and dirty; about thirty-five feet by eighteen, and sixteen feet high; far too small for the number of prisoners, many of whom sleep in twenty-three beds which are on three stories of galleries, or broad shelves. At one of my visits there were in this room thirty-nine debtors: seven of them had their wives and children. The room swarms with bugs. The day- and night-room for women debtors is more lightsome: in it were only two prisoners. Beyond it is a room ruinous, and fit for no use.

For men felons there are two rooms; and two for women; one of these is a dark cell. Two dungeons, one down eleven steps, the other adjoining to the tap-room. No bedding or straw. Those who choose a bed pay 1s. a night; or else 10s. 6d. floorage, and 3s. 6d. a week. Near those four rooms are twenty-three more for master's-side debtors.

In the court is the chapel; and under it the tap-room, down sixteen steps. All the rooms aforesaid are within the inner gate; between which and the outer gate (i.e. in the keeper's house) are more rooms for master's-side debtors. No infirmary. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners not hung up. The prison is greatly out of repair; the main wall on one side shored and propped.

The keeper pays to the Chamber of London £30 a year rent, which is repaid him for his expense on night-charges: he also pays window-tax. I learned from him, that in the beginning of the year 1773 his prisoners were sickly, and eleven died. For some time the governors of the General Dispensary showed a kind attention to these poor people; and ordered their

the chairman, who was acquainted with the plan I had been employed on for some years, directed the doctor to apply to me for a list of the several prisons, with which I with pleasure supplied him, and at the same time informed him of my intended publication.

Dr. Smith's attention seemed to be chiefly turned towards debtors, who spoke with much esteem and gratitude of him and Mr. Cosens the apothecary, who also attended; and many beneficial effects proceeded from their management. Great alterations had taken place in prisons through the attention of Parliament before the doctor's visits; yet he discovered many abuses and frauds still practised, which he laid before the public in two pamphlets, printed for J. Bew in Paternoster Row, 1776.

physician, Dr. Lettsom, to visit them. He was esteemed by the prisoners.

The bread allowance is from the Chamber of London. Debtors (some of whom are from the Court of Conscience, and lie till their debts are paid[1]) have from the sheriffs thirty-two pounds of beef on Saturday. They had formerly from the Peacock brewhouse (Messrs. Calvert and Co.) a donation of two barrels of small beer a week. There are many legacies for common-side debtors, who receive them quarterly. The annual amount is £59 2s. 11d.

## BRIDEWELL

This building was formerly a palace, near St. Bridget's (St. Bride's) well; from whence it had the name; which, after it became a prison, was applied to other prisons of the same sort.[2] It was given to the city by King Edward VI in 1552.

[1] As I shall frequently have occasion to mention this class of debtors, who are generally working people with large families, I think it may be proper to give some account of what are called Courts of Conscience. In 1518, the Common Council of the City of London passed an Act for the recovery of debts under forty shillings due to citizens, by a court to be called a Court of Conscience, held in Guildhall; and the debtors who refused to obey the award of that court, were to be imprisoned in one of the City Compters until they complied, although it were *durante vita*. In 1605 the powers of that court were established by Act of Parliament. In 1750 Alderman Dickenson brought in a Bill for extending similar powers to the whole county of Middlesex; with this difference, that all persons refusing to submit to the decision of the court were liable to be imprisoned in Newgate for three calendar months, which cancelled the debt. From these several Acts, others have been framed for various parts of the kingdom, in some of which the term of confinement has been limited to forty days. I have collected most of these, and find the expenses, fees, etc., to be very different; in some instances amounting to three or four times the original debt.

Now there appears to be a very obvious defect in the policy respecting this matter. Why should a man for the same debt be liable in one place to imprisonment for life, in another for three months, in another only for forty days? Why should the fees, etc., be the same for discharging a debt of fifteen pence (for such I have known a man imprisoned for), and for thirty-nine shillings? It is certainly desirable that one comprehensive statute for the whole kingdom, on this head, should be framed; wherein a proportion might be established between the sums indebted, and the fees and times of imprisonment. And particular care should be taken, that debtors of this kind be not suffered to mix with criminals, who by their instructions and example frequently render them as abandoned as themselves.

See, further, on this subject, a report drawn up by the committee of the benevolent Society for the Discharge and Relief of Persons Confined for Small Debts.

[2] Johnson's *Dictionary*.

That part of Bridewell which relates to my subject has wards for men and women quite separate. The men's ward on the ground-floor is a day-room in which they beat hemp; and, down two steps, a close night-room. At my late visits, a staircase was made to a room above, for the convenience of the prisoners. In both this and the night-room, a window has been lately stopped up. The women's ward is a day-room on the ground-floor, in which they beat hemp; and upstairs, two night-rooms. A chamber above these is fitted up for an infirmary. The sick were formerly sent to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. All the prisoners being kept within doors, makes it necessary to lime-white the rooms twice a year. The women's rooms are large, and have opposite windows, for fresh air. Their ward, as well as the men's, has water: and there is a hand ventilator on the outside, with a tube to each room of the women's ward: yet their rooms were offensive. The ventilator would be of service if more frequently worked, when the rooms are crowded with prisoners: there can, however, never be a healthy prison, where the prisoners are not at times permitted to breathe the fresh air in a court.

The prisoners are employed by a hemp-dresser, who has the profit of their labour, an apartment in the prison, and a salary of £20. I always found them at work: at my last visit they were picking oakum. The hours of work are in winter from eight to four; in summer from six to six, deducting meal-times. The steward is allowed eightpence a day for the maintenance of each prisoner; and contracts to supply them as follows—On Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, a penny loaf, ten ounces of dressed beef without bone, broth, and three pints of ten shilling beer: on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, a penny loaf, four ounces of cheese or some butter, a pint of milk-pottage, and three pints of beer. They are served with the day's allowance about twelve o'clock. The allowance of bread is too small, in August 1783, eight and a half ounces; October, nine ounces. The porter or keeper is Thomas Holt. Salary, £80; no fees. To the women's ward there is a matron, Sarah Lyon; salary, £60. She takes care of the sick, both men and women; and is allowed a shilling a day for those that are put on the sick diet. No bath.

In winter the women have some firing. All the night-rooms are supplied with rye-straw once a month. No other prison in London has any straw or bedding.

In Bridewell is a public chapel: the prisoners should attend

every Sunday. The men and women are separated from each other, and from the rest of the congregation.

On the walls of the hall and court-room are hung up many tables of very considerable gifts and legacies to this hospital, in common with others: sufficient, to have made this prison more commodious, by providing courts; and several workrooms, and lodging-rooms, for keeping the prisoners more separate, as now is very prudently done for the faulty apprentices and Bridewell boys, who were formerly confined in one room.

The Bridewell boys are upon a quite different foundation, and foreign to my subject.

To this prison were committed,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1772 | 1709 | 1778 | 1027 |
| 1773 | 777 | 1779 | 681 |
| 1774 | 808 | 1780 | 459 |
| 1775 | 1084 | 1781 | 484 |
| 1776 | 983 | 1782 | 659 |
| 1777 | 544 | | |

I found there in

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1776. | 13 March | Prisoners | 20 | 1782. | 18 Dec. | Prisoners | 32 |
| | 1 May | „ | 7 | 1783. | 26 Aug. | „ | 38 |
| | 3 Dec. | „ | 24 | | 31 Oct. | „ | 41 |
| 1779. | 12 Aug. | „ | 13 | | | | |

## WHITECHAPEL PRISON FOR DEBTORS

In it are confined those whose debts are above £2, and under £5. The master's-side prisoners have four sizable chambers, fronting the road; i.e. two on each story. They pay 2s. 6d. a week; and lie two in a bed; two beds in a room. The common-side debtors are in two long rooms in the court, near the tap-room; men in one room, women in the other: the courtyard in common. They hang out a begging-box from a little closet in the front of the house; and attend it in turn. It brings them only a few pence a day; and of this pittance none partake but those who at entrance have paid the keeper 2s. 6d. and treated the prisoners with half a gallon of beer. When I was there in 1777, no more than three had purchased this privilege.

The prison is out of repair. It is the property of the lady of

the manor. The keeper, George Garred, is an officer: he pays rent £24; and window-tax, and all other taxes. He keeps the tap. Fees, £0 8s. 1d. No table: but in November 1776, I saw a paper hung up, on which was written as follows:

A TABLE of FEES to be taken by the Keeper of this Prison

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| For the discharge of every person upon any civil action, process or execution . . . . . | 0 | 8 | 1 |
| For every person who chooses to lie on the master's-side, for the first night . . . . . | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| For every person who chooses to lie on the master's-side after the first night to pay every week . . . | 0 | 2 | 6 |

GEORGE GARRED, keeper, 10th August, 1776.

At the same time I saw another paper entitled *Rules and Orders to be observed in this Prison.* It was dated 6 August, 1776. The first rule is, "That every person who comes into this prison as a prisoner, shall pay for his garnish 2s. 10½d."

The clauses of the Act against spirituous liquors hung up.

At my first visit there were on the common-side two prisoners in hammocks, sick and very poor. No chaplain. A compassionate man, who was not a regular clergyman, sometimes preached to them on Sunday; and gave them some small relief.

Lady Townshend sends a guinea twice a year, which her servant distributes equally among the prisoners.

As debtors here are generally very poor, I was surprised to see once ten or twelve noisy men at skittles; but the turnkey said they were only visitants. I found they were admitted here as at another public house. No prisoners were at play with them. The court-room is near this prison.

## THE SAVOY

This prison for the military, has two rooms called the guard-rooms; because in them are confined offenders who are of the king's guards. The remainder of the building over the gate is the keeper's house. On the opposite side of the court, is a large room down five steps, the hall. On the left-hand side of the court is another hall, not so large: at each end of it is a room with barrack-bedsteads and beds; both rooms very close and unhealthy. Over them are other barrack-rooms, somewhat

more airy. No. 1, 2, and 4, and the room over No. 1, and the lodging-room called the store-room adjoining to the guard-rooms, are of good size: and the practice of lime-whiting adopted here since my first visits, is salutary for the prisoners. There are, besides, the black hole, the condemned hold, the cock-pit, and several other parts of this irregular building, which I pass over.

15 March, 1776, there were one hundred and nineteen prisoners; of whom forty-nine were transports. I saw many sick and dying. The gaol was so infected by them, that the distemper was caught there by many afterwards.

25 May, prisoners thirty-seven. Many of them sick of the gaol-distemper, in the rooms where I saw the sick and dying in March. The whole was out of repair. Keeper, Captain Jackson. Salary £50. Allowance, fourpence a day, in provisions.

1779, 13 August, prisoners 98, viz.

64 deserters, 21 impressed men, and 13 of the guards.

The prisoners were in health; the rooms made somewhat more airy, and three rooms over the hall were fitted up for an infirmary.

1782, 20 December, prisoners 92.

The prison was not dirty, nor the rooms offensive except in the infirmary. Three of the guards were in close confinement on bread and water for forty-eight hours. One was sick in the prison, and twelve in two of the close rooms of the infirmary; in the other room, one of the transports left here lay dead. Keeper, Captain Osborne.

1783, 29 August, prisoners 56.

Fourteen were of the guards, of whom ten were in the black hole on bread and water for twenty-four or forty-eight hours. Some of the prisoners, having received his Majesty's pardon on condition of enlisting, and afterwards deserted, had been here from seven to sixteen months. The rooms were very clean; they are lime-whited twice a year, and they are washed every day, the prisoners being turned out of them early in the morning. There had been none sick in the hospital for two months.

## TOTHILL-FIELDS BRIDEWELL

*Keeper.* George Smith.

Salary: £50, paying the widow of the former keeper £20.
Fees: £0 5s. 2d.
Transports: taken by Mr. Akerman.
Licence: Beer and Wine. Tap let. Now no licence.

*Prisoners.*

Allowance: A penny loaf (weight Dec. 1782, 8½oz. Oct. 1783, 9¼ oz.) and a penny a day each.

Garnish: £0 1s. 4d.

Number:

| | Prisoners | | Prisoners |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1774. 22 April . | 38 | 1779. 5 Aug. . | 74 |
| 1775. 4 March . | 109 | 1782. 18 Dec. . | 72 |
| 1776. 6 March . | 86 | 1783. 20 Aug. . | 89 |
| 1776. 3 May . | 75 | 1783. 22 Aug. . | 92 |
| 1777. 8 Jan. . | 110 | 1783. 29 Oct. . | 52 |

Impressed men, 10

*Chaplain.* None.

*Surgeon.* Mr. Glover, now Mr. Thomas Purdue.
Salary: None. He makes a bill.

"No alteration in this prison. The men associating together in one part, and the women in another; all without employment, except three or four debtors who were shoemakers. At night, some men come to a room in the women's court, and some women go to a room on the men's side, which is called the chapel, from the use made of it by the late worthy keeper. Several prisoners were drinking in a room used by the turnkey for his shop. Here is also a room for the deposit of bonnets and other articles of clothing, which may be a convenient security for the keeper's fees; one woman, however, I turned out, who had remained four days after the expiration of her term, and had no share in the property contained in this room. In some county gaols the salaries to the gaolers are in lieu of all fees; whereby the hardship of forcing poor creatures to part with some of their scanty clothing, in order to purchase their discharge, is prevented. No bedding here, which is the case in all the London prisons, except that in the City called Bridewell, where they have a little loose straw, and beds for the few who can pay a high price for them."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, p. 129.]

Over the gate is this inscription: "Here are several sorts of

work for the poor of this parish of St. Margaret's Westminster, as also the county according to law, and for such as will beg and live idle in this city and liberty of Westminster. Anno 1655."

This prison has—for men, two day-rooms and three night-rooms—for faulty apprentices, five rooms, ten feet by seven feet two inches; the upper and lower panels of the doors are iron-latticed. For women, a day-room, and four night-rooms. All the night-rooms have barrack beds. They are constantly washed every day; and are quite fresh. The prisoners wash their hands and faces every morning before they come for their allowance. No straw. No infirmary. A little room used as a surgery. A chapel, in which Mr. Smith reads a chapter, and part of the Common Prayer Book every morning.

The women should have another day-room: and one of the day-rooms for men should be enlarged. The courts adjacent might also be enlarged. The rooms for women, and their court, are now more airy, the garden pales being set farther off. The keeper pays window-tax, and for water. Over the gate is a paper with this inscription: "No person admitted into this prison on a Sunday after nine o'clock in the morning until five in the evening."

At my visit in 1777, there were among the felons, two debtors from the Court of Conscience; in 1779, three; and in 1783, six. I always found this prison very clean: and the prisoners calm and placid. There is now a workshop with hemp-blocks, and a room over it. Two of the women's night-rooms are appropriated to female convicts, who have also a separate court with water, etc. As I have seen several sick objects on the floors, the gentlemen, who are so ready to relieve the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, will forgive the intimation that an infirmary might be made over the women's ward.

## THE KING'S BENCH PRISON, FOR DEBTORS

Number:

| | In House | In Rules | | In House | In Rules |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1774. 26 April | 324 | 100 | 1779. 26 Oct. | 438 | 60 |
| 1776. 28 Jan. | 364 | 80 | 1782. 2 Jan. | 450 | 7 |
| 1776. 28 May | 395 (*See* remarks.) | | 1782. 28 Dec. | 485 | 30 |
| 1779. 11 Aug. | 511 | 75 | 1783. 23 Aug. | 532 | 50 |

This prison was part old buildings, part new.

The old buildings were—a coffee-room just within the gate—and a street called King Street. On the right hand was the

tap-house; and four houses for prisoners: each consisted of a ground-floor, and two floors of chambers; four rooms on each floor; near ten feet square, and seven high. On the left-hand side of the street was the chapel; and six houses for prisoners; of equal depth with the former houses: but the back-rooms had not, as the former had, communication with the fore-rooms. At the hither end of the fore-rooms, on the ground-floor, was a common kitchen, much too small. The cook, a prisoner, had the room over it. These houses also had ground-rooms, and two floors of chambers. All the rooms fronting King Street, and the whole of the houses on the other side the way, were for master's-side debtors; who paid for each room unfurnished a shilling a week. The back part of the left-hand row was the common-side; the doors in the back-front. The first room on the ground-floor they called their court-room. The two houses at the farther end had six rooms each, for Crown debtors and fines; and were called Crown Court. The rest of this range on all the three floors was for common-side debtors. At the farther end of King Street, in a small court enclosed from the rest of the yard, was a building called the State House; consisting of ground-floors, and two floors of chambers; four sizable rooms on each floor; total twelve. A debtor who chose to be here, paid the marshal from eight to ten guineas for his whole time; besides a shilling a week, like other master's-side debtors.

All these old buildings were out of repair.

The new buildings were—first, a house at the gate for the turnkey. The chambers were very convenient; and were let to a prisoner who paid a very high rent. But the principal new building was at the farther end of the yard. The two parts of it formed a right-angle. One part was four houses, with four ground-rooms to each; and the same number of chambers on each of the three floors above: total sixty-four. The rooms were about thirteen feet by eleven, and about eight feet high. The other part (the wing) was built as the Fleet Prison; but more airy and commodious. It had the same number of floors as the first part. On each floor was a passage seven and a half feet wide, and seventy-three and a half feet long: rooms on each side the passage, eleven on each floor, total forty-four; each room thirteen and a half feet by nine and a half, about eight feet high.

The prison is well supplied with water. Among the improvements, of a hundred and eight new rooms, and a spacious court, they should have built an infirmary. At more than one of my

visits (which I repeated to this as well as many other prisons much oftener than the times when I took the numbers) some had the smallpox. It was so crowded the summer 1776, that a prisoner paid five shillings a week for half a bed, and many lay in the chapel. In May 1776, the number of prisoners within the walls was 395; and by an accurate list which I procured, their wives (including a few that were only called so) were 279, children 725, total 1004: about two-thirds of these were in the prison.

The above was the state of the prison in 1776; but afterwards some of the old buildings were taken down, and a chapel and many rooms added to the new buildings, and another wing similar to that which has been already mentioned, but no infirmary. This spacious prison is enclosed with a strong wall about thirty feet high, with a *chevaux de frise*.

The rules, or bounds of this prison are extensive, including St. George's Fields, one side of Blackman Street, and part of the Borough High Street.

This prison is visited at Michaelmas term, as the Act directs;[1] yet at my first visits there was a wine club, and a beer club; and one could scarcely ever enter the walls without seeing parties at skittles, mississippi, portobello, tennis, fives, etc.

The above was the account of the prison before it was burnt by the rioters in 1780: and now it is rebuilt on the plan of the former new buildings. No infirmary. Many good regulations are introduced, and a stop is put in a great measure to gaming and the illicit practice of selling spirituous liquors and smuggled goods.

The tables of rules and orders for the government of this prison are hung up (as required by the preamble) for common inspection. I presume to give an abridgment of them.

RULES and ORDERS for the better Government, etc. Made and signed the 25th of November, 1729

1. The stocks to be kept up for punishment of blasphemers, swearers, riotous, etc.
2. Against illegal methods of confinement. None to be confined in an unusual place or manner, unless for attempting to escape. And such may appeal to the court, or a judge.
3. Marshal not to remove any to the Fleet by writ of habeas corpus.
4. Marshal not to remove any one from the common-side and its benefits without three days' notice: during which time, the prisoner may appeal to a judge.

[1] Thirty-second George II.

5. Coroner's inquest upon the dead.
6. Against garnish and partial distribution of dividends.
7. Prisoners to send out for necessaries; and to bring in their own bedding, etc.
8. Table of fees, these rules, and a list of charities to be hung up in a public room.
9. Marshal and servants to behave with the utmost tenderness.
10. Turnkey always to attend at the door.
11. No servants to partake of, or even distribute the charity.
12. Chapel to be kept in repair. Chaplain duly to perform.
13. The abusive to the stocks.
14. Dining-room to be kept in repair for devotion, or conversation: with a fire. Two rooms for the sick.
15. Those who make oath before, etc., that they have not £5, etc., to be admitted to the charities, offices in the prison, etc.
16. No person committed for any criminal matter to vote for steward, etc., or to partake of any charity but the baskets.
17. Lodging in the cabin of any ward, gratis.
18. Any prisoner may be chosen assistant, and enjoy the benefits of that station.
19. The seal of the common-side to be kept by the master of King's Bench office: and not put to any deed without the approbation of marshal, steward, and assistants.
20. One supersedable action may be superseded with common-side money: more than one, not without application to the court, or a judge. No judge's clerk to take a fee on the occasion.
21. The sick to be taken care of by the steward and assistants: who are to be reimbursed out of the first county-money.
22. Debts contracted by the steward and assistants with the marshal's and master's consent, for support of the poor, to be paid out of the next dividend.
23. Steward and assistants to have no pay for common business, or adjusting differences.
24. Prisoners entered after the first day of Easter-term, to have but one quarter of the Midsummer dividend.
25. All money brought in by the basket-men, or brought in at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, to be divided immediately after paying the basket-men for their trouble.
26. If the marshal advance money for a *supersedeas*, he is to be reimbursed out of the next county-money.
27. Common-side prisoners may elect an annual steward; who is not to be deposed, but on application to the court or a judge. No prisoner in the rules may vote.
28. The steward to enter in books the table of fees, these rules, and a list of the charities. All, together with his accounts, for inspection of the prisoners.
29. A prisoner wronged by the steward and assistants, on applying

to the court or a judge, shall be paid his damages out of the next dividend of the steward and assistants: if he complain unjustly, he shall make satisfaction from his own next dividend.

30. If the steward or assistants embezzle the money, successors may call them to account, and stop their dividends of the grate-money, etc., for reparation of the injury.
31. These orders to be read publicly every third Monday.
32. Marshal, servants, and prisoners to observe these rules under pain of the utmost punishment of law.
33. No clerk or servant of a judge to take any fee on occasion of a petition founded on these orders.

R. Raymond, Ja. Reynolds, E. Probyn.

The preceding rules fill one side of a large sheet of paper, on which they are printed. Another sheet has what follows, viz.

Further Rules and Orders for the government, etc. Made and signed the 10th day of May, 1759

1. No person to bring any weapon.
2. Those on the master's-side who demand garnish, to be turned to common-side for a time, not longer than a month. Those on the common-side are for the like offence to be excluded, not longer than a fortnight, from all profits except share of the baskets.
3. Doors of the great garden to be shut at dark: doors of the wards at nine.
4. The chambers at disposal of the marshal, etc.
5. If a master's-side prisoner neglect for a month to pay his chamber-rent; he may be turned over to the common-side till he pays. His goods to be delivered to him, by a witnessed inventory. If discharged by the plaintiff, he may yet be detained for fees, and a month's chamber-rent.
6. None to sell in the prison victuals or drink without consent of marshal. A prisoner thus offending may be turned over to the common-side for a month. Marshal to take care that those who sell do keep good order, etc.
7. Confirms the 14th rule preceding, i.e. the great room for exercise and the two rooms for the sick.
8. Prisoners turned to common-side for offending, or non-payment, to have no profit but share of the baskets; to bear no office; nor vote for officers.
9. These rules to be fixed in the most public places, for inspection.

*Signed,*

Mansfield, T. Dennison,
M. Forster, E. Wilmot.

A further RULE and ORDER, etc., made 19th May, 1760

Those who attempt or assist an escape—who sell or promote the sale of victuals or liquors without leave of the marshal—who assault another—who blaspheme the name of God, swear or make a riot, may be sent by the marshal to any one of the following prisons in Southwark, viz., the county gaol for Surrey, the bridewell for that county, or to the Marshalsea: and there confined for the first offence not exceeding one month; for a second offence not exceeding three months. This rule to be hung up.

*Signed,*

MANSFIELD, T. DENNISON,
M. FORSTER, E. WILMOT.

Three excellent rules have been lately hung up.

Monday next after three weeks from the day of the Holy Trinity in the 19th year of King George the Third.

*King's Bench Prison.* Upon full and mature consideration had here in court, It is ordered by the said court, that any man may lawfully be turned out of his chamber for the following causes (that is to say) If such person lets his chamber to another, or does not reside there himself, or if such person might have taken the benefit of any insolvent Act or the Lords' Act; or if he be charged by a friendly or collusive action where there is no real debt.

By the Court.

Friday next after fifteen days from the day of the Holy Trinity in the 19th year of King George the Third.

*King's Bench Prison.* It is ordered that all prisoners who have been or shall be in the custody of the marshal of the Marshalsea for the space of six months after they are supersedable although not superseded shall be forthwith discharged out of the prison of the marshal of the Marshalsea by the said marshal as to all such actions in which they have been or shall be supersedable. And that no prisoner shall be intitled to any room in the said prison by reason of seniority except from the time of his being charged in the actions in which he is not supersedable.

By the Court.

Wednesday next after three weeks from the day of the Holy Trinity, in the 21st year of King George the Third.

*King's Bench Prison.* It is ordered by this court, that the marshal of the Marshalsea of this court shall permit no persons to enter into the prison without their being first searched, to see whether they have any spirituous liquors about them: and that he do not suffer the wives or children of any of the prisoners to lodge in the prison, under any pretence whatsoever; and that the marshal do

prescribe in what manner, and for how long time, visitors shall be allowed to see or stay with the prisoners, according to the circumstances of every case in his discretion.

By the Court.

There were, besides, in this prison, as in the Fleet, certain printed rules made by the prisoners themselves, "to be obeyed and observed by every member of this college" (as they were pleased to term it). Many of them were arbitrary and improper: but now they are abolished.

## MARSHALSEA PRISON [1]

To this prison of the Court of the Marshalsea, and of the King's Palace Court of Westminster, are brought debtors arrested for the lowest sums, anywhere within twelve miles of the palace, except in the City of London: and also persons committed for piracy.

The deputy marshal, under whose particular custody this prison is, has his appointment from the knight marshal of the king's household [2] for the time being. The great abuses practised by this officer were reported to Parliament by the gaol committee in 1729.

This prison is held under several leases by the widow of the late deputy marshal at the yearly rent of £101. It is an old irregular building (rather several buildings) in a spacious court. There are, in the whole, near sixty rooms; and yet only six of them left for common-side debtors. Of the other rooms—five were let to a man who was not a prisoner: in one of them he kept a chandler's shop; in two he lived with his family: the other two he let to prisoners. Four rooms, the Oaks, were for women. They were too few for the number; and the more modest women complained of the bad company, in which they were confined. There were above forty rooms for men on the master's-side, in which were about sixty beds; yet at my first visits, many prisoners had no beds nor any place to sleep in, but the chapel, and the tap-room. The chamber-rent wants regulation; for in several rooms where four lie in two beds, and in some dark rooms where two lie in one bed, each pays 3s. 6d. a week for his lodging.

[1] Abolished 1849.—[Ed.]

[2] The prison was originally established for the trial of servants of the royal household.

The prison is greatly out of repair. No infirmary. The court is well supplied with water. In it the prisoners play at rackets, etc., and in a little back court, the Park, at skittles.

The tap was let to a prisoner in the rules of the King's Bench Prison; this prison being just within those rules. I was credibly informed, that one Sunday in the summer 1775, about six hundred pots of beer were brought in from a public house in the neighbourhood (Ashmore's), the prisoners not then liking the tapster's beer.

In March 1775, when the number of prisoners was a hundred and seventy-five, there were with them in this incommodious prison wives and children forty-six.

Since the Act of the nineteenth of George III, chap. lxx, there are not so many debtors in this prison as formerly; yet they are increasing, for I find here, and in other prisons, many debtors whose original debts are much under £10, but for the purpose of imprisoning such debtors, they are prosecuted either in the Court of Exchequer, or in other inferior courts, until the expenses of such prosecutions which added to the original debt amount to £10. A fresh action is then taken out in the superior courts, for the small original debt, and the accumulated costs of prosecution. Thus the salutary purposes of the said Act are defeated.

Mr. Henry Allnott, who was many years since a prisoner here, had, during his confinement, a large estate bequeathed to him. He learned sympathy by his sufferings; and left £100 a year for discharging poor debtors from hence, whose debts do not exceed £4. As he bound his manor of Goring in Oxfordshire for charitable uses, this is called the Oxford charity. Many are cleared by it every year.

# HOME CIRCUIT

## HERTFORDSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL AT HERTFORD

The old gaol, built in 1702, was in the middle of the town. In front two small day-rooms, for felons, in which they were always locked up: no fire-place. Their dungeons or night-rooms, one down eighteen steps, the other nineteen. Over their day-rooms, was a large lumber-room; and joining to it a lodging-room for women felons. Backward was a small court for debtors, and women felons. On each side of it were two rooms on the ground-floor, and two chambers for debtors. No chapel. No infirmary. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners, and clauses against spirituous liquors, not hung up.

In the interval of two of my visits the gaol-fever prevailed, and carried off seven or eight prisoners, and two turnkeys.[1] The felons were on that occasion removed to the bridewell. At my second visit in 1776, four were sick.

This old gaol could not have been made healthy and convenient: but the prisoners are now in a new one situated just out of the town, with separate wards (sixteen feet eight inches by eleven feet seven inches) and courts for debtors, men felons and women felons: the whole is properly surrounded by a wall fifteen feet high: which being at a considerable distance from the building, the keeper has within it a convenient garden.

The felons looked healthy and well, which I am persuaded was owing to the gaoler's not crowding them into a few rooms.

### COUNTY BRIDEWELLS

HITCHIN. In the workhouse yard, a room for men, twenty and a half feet by ten and a half; and over it two rooms for women, who go up to them by a ladder. No chimney in any

[1] I was well informed, that a prisoner brought out as dead, from one of the dungeons, on being washed under the pump, showed signs of life, and soon after recovered. Since this, I have known other instances of the same kind.

of the rooms: no straw: no court: no water: no allowance: no employment. Keeper's salary, £24: no fees.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1776. 14 Feb. | prisoners 2 | 1782. 9 April | prisoners 1 |
| 1779. 21 Oct. | „ 0 | 1782. 2 Dec. | „ 3 |

BERKHAMSTEAD. A ward for men, and another for women. A dungeon down nine steps, thirteen feet by nine and a half, and six feet three inches high: each floor, very damp, no window: no chimney: no bedsteads: no straw. Keeper's salary, £20: no fees: has the profit of the prisoners' work. They are sometimes employed in chopping rags. Allowance, a pound of bread a day.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1776. | 2 November | prisoners 0 |
| 1779. | 23 April | „ 1 |
| 1782. | 31 October | „ 0 |

ST. ALBANS. The bridewell for the Liberty, and for the Borough, joins to the Liberty gaol. One large workroom, and two lodging-rooms; all upstairs, and airy. No court: no water: no allowance: no straw. Prisoners have their earnings. Clauses against spirituous liquors not hung up. Keeper's salary for the Liberty, £28; for the Borough, £2: no fees. In 1779, I found a girl, who was sentenced for a year's imprisonment, locked up all the day with two soldiers in the workroom: and at my last visit, a girl and a boy were confined together.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1776. 1 March | prisoners 2 | 1779. 24 April | prisoners 3 |
| 1776. 2 Nov. | „ 0 | 1782. 7 May | „ 2 |

## ESSEX

### COUNTY GAOL AT CHELMSFORD

The old prison was close, and frequently infected with the gaol-distemper. Inquiring in October 1775 for the head-turnkey, I was told he died of it.

In the tap-room there hung a paper on which, among other things, was written, "Prisoners to pay garnish or run the gauntlet."

It gave me pain to be informed in 1775, that there had been no divine service for above a year past, except to condemned criminals.

The new gaol exceeds the old one in strength and convenience as much as in splendour. The county, to their honour, have spared no cost. The prison was finished and occupied at the time of my visit in 1779. The debtors' rooms are seventeen feet ten inches by fifteen feet three, and nine feet ten high. At one end of their court is a workroom thirty-seven and a half feet by fourteen and a half, and twelve feet five inches high, with a fire-place and four large windows: here many were weaving garters. Over this is their free ward. At the other end of the court is their hall or kitchen, in which clauses against spirituous liquors painted on a board were hung up, and the memorial of Mrs. Herris's legacy, and a new table of fees. The felons' rooms (fifteen feet nine inches by fourteen and a half) are lofty, lined with stone and vaulted. Near their court are two rooms in a small area for the condemned. The women felons are separated; they have two rooms, a court and a pump. The courts are paved with flat stone. There is a chapel. Only one close room for an infirmary, which, being unfurnished, has never been used, though at my last visit several were sick on the floors. No bath. The felons' apartments being entirely out of sight from the gaoler's house, I beg leave to observe, that a window might be made in his kitchen, which would overlook the felons' court. The window in the debtors' apartment towards the street was highly improper, as an avenue for introducing at all times spirituous liquors, tools, etc., but it is now stopped up. The straw in the felons' rooms (as also in the bridewell) is on the floors. Such cribs or cradles as are in the hospital at Plymouth would be much more conducive to health and cleanliness. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners is not hung up: and this gaol has not been whitewashed since it was first occupied; a fault too common in new gaols. The felons are too much crowded at night, when some of their rooms are empty.

## COUNTY BRIDEWELL

Chelmsford. On the ground-floor a large workroom, a kitchen, and a lodging-room for men: over them rooms of the same size for women: two rooms for the sick. Prisoners always kept within doors; and the rooms very offensive by the sewers.[1]

[1] Those conveniences, which delicacy forbids enlarging upon, yet which are absolutely necessary to all houses, and the situation and construction of which are of the greatest importance in prisons and other crowded buildings, have always engaged my peculiar attention: I am convinced

Neither here nor at the gaol, are there proper drains or sewers. Mr. Ford (the keeper) told me at one of my visits that many had been ill of the gaol-fever, brought from the county gaol. His salary, £30: under-keeper's, £16: no fees. Prisoners' allowance, threepence a day; for which they have a pound and a half of bread, and a quart of small beer; and three halfpence a day further allowance to each sick prisoner. Coals, straw, brooms, etc., £4 2s. 6d. a quarter. The employment of the prisoners is spinning wool, at a penny a skein: the county has the profit. At my last visit, there were several sick and dirty objects on the floor, with little or no covering. No bath. Garnish 2s.

## KENT

### COUNTY GAOL AT MAIDSTONE

This gaol was erected in 1746, as appears by the date. On the first floor there are eight rooms for debtors, which open into a passage six feet two inches wide. Under these are the felons' wards near thirteen feet square: but the air and light are obstructed (the wall being three feet thick) by double wooden bars three and a half inches broad (instead of single iron ones), at the windows both of debtors and felons. There are three courts: one for debtors; one for men felons; and one for women felons. The two last are much too small (that for men which is the largest only twenty-eight feet by twenty-seven); but may be commodiously enlarged from the ground at the back of the gaol. Divine service was performed upon the stairs, but the chapel is now made commodious by the staircase being removed. The felons' night-rooms have double doors; if one of them was an iron-lattice door (as in the new gaol at Horsham) and was locked up in the daytime, the rooms would freshen and be better ventilated. There are two dungeons (twelve and a half feet square) down eleven steps for the condemned.

Felons are allowed yearly ten cauldron of coals: they have

that want of care respecting them is a principal cause of unhealthiness in many of our gaols. The reader will please to take notice, that under the words "sewers" and "drains" everything is comprehended which I had to say on this subject in my remarks on the several prisons.

barrack-beds, and hop-bagging with straw; but no coverlets. This county has for years past been so considerate as to pay the fees of poor prisoners acquitted: and to transports cast at assizes, who are entitled to the king's allowance of 2s. 6d. a week, they continue the allowance which they had before trial. They also pay the gaoler's fees for those convicts. The felons formerly said they wished for more bread and would, if that were increased, be content with less beer. The baker who serves the felons sells thirteen loaves to the dozen; and debtors have amongst them every thirteenth loaf, and are now allowed yearly three cauldron of coals.

There is an alarm-bell; and a sail-ventilator.

The infirmary is improperly situated. No bath. On examining two sick prisoners in 1779, I found they had no irons; and the surgeon said the gaoler was always ready to take them off when he requested it.

The clauses of the Act against spirituous liquors are hung up. Act for preserving the health of prisoners not hung up.

Without great attention to cleanliness and the separation of the sick, here will be great danger of the gaol-fever, from the offensiveness of the wards and even the court of the men felons.

## [COUNTY BRIDEWELL

MAIDSTONE. In 1779 I saw two prisoners with the small-pox, lying on loose straw, and their only covering was common mats.

ROCHESTER. City bridewell. Two rooms down eight steps with barrack-bedsteads and straw. Fees, 1s. Keeper's salary, £2, paid out of Mr. Watt's charity.[1]

DEAL. Gaol. A room under the court only eight and a half feet by six and a half, with a barrack-bedstead. Keeper, town-sergeant, lives distant. I did not wonder that a felon had made his escape the night before my visit.

[1] This bridewell is in a house appointed for the reception of six poor travellers. The design of this charity may be seen from the following inscription placed over the door: "Richard Watts, Esq., by his will dated 22 August, 1579, founded this charity, for six poor travellers, who, not being rogues or proctors, may receive gratis, for one night, lodging, entertainment, and fourpence each."

# SUSSEX

## COUNTY GAOL AT HORSHAM

*Gaoler.* Charles Cooper, now Samuel Smart.

Salary: £120 of late; in lieu of all fees: now £100. (*See* remarks.)

Fees: Debtors, Felons, } £1 4s. 10d.

Transports: £2 2s. 0d. each.

Licence: Wine.

*Prisoners.*

Allowance: Debtors, none.
Felons, two pennyworth of bread a day: now a 2 lb. loaf.

Garnish: £0 6s. 6d.

Number:

| | Debtors | Felons, etc. | | Debtors | Felons, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1773. 17 Dec. | 11 | 7 | 1779. 9 March | 12 | 6 |
| 1774. 29 Sept. | 5 | 13 | 1782. 8 Nov. | 16 | 7 |
| 1776. 22 Feb. | 13 | 8 | | | |

*Chaplain.* Rev. Mr. Jameson.

Duty: Sermon once a week; prayers every day.
Salary: £50. (*See* remarks.)

*Surgeon.* Now Mr. Dubbins.

Salary: £5 5s. 0d. for felons.

The rooms in the old gaol were too small, except the free ward for debtors. No straw: no court; and yet ground enough for one behind the gaol. Transports convicted at quarter sessions, had as those condemned at assize, the king's allowance of 2s. 6d. a week. Lent assize at East Grinstead; where the prisoners are confined in a garret at the "George" alehouse; formerly they were shut up in a butcher's cellar. Summer assize, at Lewes and Horsham alternately.

The new gaol that was building in 1776, I found finished in 1779. The Duke of Richmond, in concurrence with the other gentlemen of the county, interested himself much in this affair. The situation is judiciously chosen; and the plan is such as appears to me particularly well suited for the purpose. It does credit to those who superintended the work, being every way substantial and strong. Each felon has a separate room ten feet by seven, and nine feet high to the crown of the arch. They are all arched with brick, to prevent danger and confusion in case of fire. To each room are two doors, one of them iron-latticed.

This gaol has two floors over arcades; the ascent to each is by a stone staircase with iron rails. On each floor, both on the debtors' and felons' side, there are ten rooms (five on each side a passage five feet wide), besides a day-room (twenty feet by twelve feet three inches) and a lodging-room for a turnkey. Each floor has an iron-lattice door; and every room has a shutter for the window, a bedstead, a canvas straw bed, and two blankets: and the county is so considerate as to allow a bushel of coals to the debtors, and the same quantity to the felons, every day during the six winter months.

Here are two spacious courts with water in each; and a wall encloses the whole prison. Near the gate is a poor's box, for obtaining prisoners' groats.

The felons on their entrance are washed with warm water, and each man is clothed in a green striped uniform of coat, waistcoat and breeches, and has two shirts, two pairs of stockings, a pair of shoes, a hat and a woollen cap.

The county has very prudently settled the number of turnkeys (viz. three): to each they pay half a guinea a week, and one of them goes twice a day to purchase provisions and liquors for debtors; and it is properly fixed that they shall not exceed one pint of wine, or one quart of strong beer a day each. Felons have only water for their drink. The justices have sent in scales and weights, which is a check on the baker. Several loaves I saw weighed were full two pounds.

The clauses against spirituous liquors are hung up, and the gaol is kept very clean. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners is not hung up. I would just observe, that the gaoler should have a window in his kitchen towards the debtors' court, and in his parlour towards that of the felons. I do not omit the old table of fees, though this county has set a noble example of abolishing all fees, and also the tap: in consequence of this I found the gaol as quiet as a private house.

Formerly there was no chaplain, but a clergyman had £5 a year for attending condemned criminals.

## COUNTY BRIDEWELL

PETWORTH. This bridewell has two rooms: one, seventeen feet by ten, the other eighteen by nine, six feet high: too small for the general number of prisoners. No chimney: no glass or shutters to the windows: no court: no water: no employment.

Allowance now, a two-pound loaf every day, to be weighed by the keeper with scales and weights ordered to the house by the justices; and which should be kept for that purpose only. Keeper's salary lately augmented from £12 to £20. Fees, 6s. 8d., no table. But now the keeper's salary is augmented to £30 in lieu of all fees.

The keeper told me (in September 1774) that "all his prisoners upon discharge, were much weakened by the close confinement, and small allowance."

Thomas Draper and William Godfrey were committed the 6th of January, 1776; the former died the 11th, the other the 26th of the same month. William Cox, committed the 13th of January, died the 23rd. None of them had the gaol-fever. I do not affirm that these men were famished to death: it was extremely cold weather. However, since that time, the allowance of bread is doubled. For this the prisoners are indebted to the kind attention of the Duke of Richmond. This prison (rented by the county) has caused the death of many poor creatures: but I have now the pleasure to hear that it will soon be discontinued, a new one being under the consideration of the justices.

## SURREY

### COUNTY GAOL IN SOUTHWARK

The new gaol, besides the gaoler's house, and the tap-room, has—for master's-side debtors, a parlour, and four other sizable rooms; and for common-side debtors, three good rooms. Mr. Hall prevents their being crowded with the wives and children of the debtors. For these prisoners, there is a court; into which felons are not admitted; except a few, whom the gaoler has reasons for indulging with that distinction.

The ward for men felons has six rooms on three floors; in these they sleep. There is a court belonging to it. The ward for women felons has two lower rooms, two above; and a court. The felons' courts should be paved with flat stones, not only for the convenience of washing, but for safety, as pebbles are dangerous. In the men's court there should be a pump and a convenient bath, for at several of my visits the Thames water was off.

In the two upper rooms of the women's ward, are put malefactors of either sex condemned to die, and sometimes pirates. I have here noted eighteen rooms: yet they are not sufficient for the number of prisoners. Mr. Hall is sometimes obliged to put men felons into some rooms of the women's ward. In so close a prison situated in a populous neighbourhood, I did not wonder frequently to find several felons sick on the floors. No bedding nor straw. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners and the clauses against spirituous liquors are hung up.

A chapel and two close rooms for the sick, lately built on the vacant ground where formerly was the house of correction; after the riots in 1780, were used for a bridewell till that in St. George's Fields was rebuilt. At my last visit the chapel was fitted up, and the two small rooms for an infirmary: these are on the ground-floor, only one window in each. Many were sick on the dirty floors; one of the turnkeys had lately died of a fever: of the fifty-five felons, etc., in October 1783, sixteen were fines, and I have the names and the sentences of twenty-five convicts, who are left languishing in this sickly gaol.[1]

Transports have not the king's allowance of 2s. 6d. a week. For these a merchant formerly contracted with the county to take them at the gaol: the gaoler sent them to the ship, attended by his servants; and received from the merchant 10s. 6d. for each prisoner so conducted.

Lent assize is at Kingston: summer assize at Guildford and Croydon[2] alternately.

There is hung up in the gaol a printed list of sixteen legacies and donations. The dates of the first six are 1555, 1571, 1576, 1584, 1597, 1598. Three are in the next century, viz. 1609, 1638, 1656. The other seven are not dated: and one of them noted on the list, has not been received since 1726. There are also other articles which seem to need inspection. Two of the charities are for debtors expressly: the others are not so distinguished; but debtors have them all. In the title of the paper it is said, "The gaol was formerly called the White Lion

[1] The occasion of my visit at this time, to this and two or three other prisons, was, that I had seen on board the hulks a few days before, several sickly objects, who told me they had lately come from this and other gaols; which, by the looks of those convicts, I was persuaded must be in a bad state. I was sorry to find them confirm my suspicions, that our gaols are verging to their old state. Without much additional and unremitting care, the benefits produced of late years by attention to this object, will prove merely temporary.

[2] During the assize at Croydon the prisoners are confined in two stables at the "Three Tuns."

Prison." The common seal of the prison is a lion rampant. One of the legacies was bequeathed by Eleanor Gwynn, from which are sent to this prison once in eight weeks, sixty-five penny loaves. Common-side debtors have this as well as the preceding gifts.

Here I would just mention, that all the rags left by the felons after every assize, ought to be immediately burned, or rather buried; as they only serve to harbour vermin, dirt, and infection.

## COUNTY BRIDEWELLS

St. George's Fields. At my late visits the prison was very dirty, and the prisoners still without employment.[1]

Kingston-upon-Thames. One of the prisoners who was committed for bastardy, not finding sureties, had been sent back hither, from the preceding quarter sessions at Reigate; where there is no prison. I had heard of the hardships suffered by prisoners when conveyed for trial to such towns; and inquired of this man, what was his situation at Reigate? He said that "He and fifteen others were confined there two or three days in a very small room; and almost suffocated." The keeper who was present confirmed the fact.

In 1782, I found the prison very dirty, and the prisoners still without employment. As the county allows no firing, bedding or bedsteads, many were lying sick on the floors. One woman was in a bed on the men's side and two women in the room for faulty apprentices, but they pay for this privilege. As I had been the preceding morning at Horsham Gaol, where proper humanity is shown even to felons, I was the more struck at seeing the wretched condition of these prisoners. There is a door from the men's court into that of the women's, and one of the men keeps the key, and can let any of the prisoners into the women's apartments. At my last visit, no alteration.

[1] If the great quantities of old cables and ropes piled up at the Tower were delivered out to the several keepers of bridewells in and about London to be wrought for use, and prompt payment made for the work, this would prevent the excuses of keepers for not employing their prisoners. See a similar mode in Holland, where the Admiralty and India Company find the old cords, and take the oakum when fit for use.

# NORFOLK CIRCUIT

## BEDFORDSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL AT BEDFORD

In this prison there is on the first-floor, a day-room for debtors, which is used as a chapel, and four lodging-rooms: for felons, on the ground-floor, two day-rooms, one for men, and the other for women, without fire-places, and two cells for the condemned. The rooms are eight and a half feet high: two dungeons, down eleven steps, one of them dark; the window of the other eighteen inches by twelve. Five pounds a year is allowed to the gaoler for straw, which is not on the floors, but on frames or bedsteads. The justices in winter, upon application, grant coals both to debtors and felons. The court is common to both. No apartment for the gaoler.

Clauses of the Act against spirituous liquors are not hung up. I was, when sheriff, culpably ignorant of that Act. No infirmary nor bath. About twenty years ago the gaol-fever was in this prison: some died there, and many in the town; among whom was Mr. Daniel the surgeon, who attended the prisoners. His successor, Mr. Gadsby, judiciously changed the medicines from sudorifics (generally used before) to bark and cordials: and a sail-ventilator being soon after put up, the gaol has been free from the fever almost ever since.

This prison is kept very clean; but the Act for preserving the health of prisoners is not hung up.

## HUNTINGDONSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL AT HUNTINGDON

This gaol is also the county bridewell and town gaol. For debtors, a day-room or kitchen; and over it a large lodging-room. Near it is a day-room for felons: and down nine steps a dungeon for men-felons; in which is a small condemned room. In another

place, down seven steps, is a dungeon for women-felons: the floor of it level with the court; in which is the bridewell. This has two rooms below for men; and two above for women. No chimneys. The prison and court are too small: but I always found the whole remarkably clean, except at my visit in 1779.

## CAMBRIDGESHIRE

### CAMBRIDGE

Town Bridewell. On the ground-floor, one room for men, twenty-one feet by six; and two lodging-rooms for women, nine feet by five. In these are lately put bedsteads for straw or coverlets. There is a dungeon or dark room for the refractory. Above is a workroom nineteen feet square, for women. In the spring 1779, seventeen women were confined in the daytime, and some of them at night, in this room, which has no fire-place or sewer. This made it extremely offensive, and occasioned a fever or sickness among them, which alarmed the Vice-Chancellor who ordered all of them to be discharged. Two or three died within a few days. There are now added two rooms, in one of which are five cages about seven feet square. There is a small court; no water.

The Vice-Chancellor's prisoners have fourpence on Sunday, to prevent the necessity of their working on that day as formerly. Those of them that are ill, have threepence a day. No allowance of bread for town prisoners. Keeper's salary, £30: no fees. Straw, £1 1s. 0d. a year.

The bridewell stands in the backyard of the keeper's house; which was bought and endowed for the encouragement of woolcombers and spinners of this town. The basis of the institution was a legacy of the famous carrier Thomas Hobson, who died 1630. To answer the intention, the keeper appointed is a woolcomber. He employs not only several hands upon the foundation of the charity, but many others; among them his prisoners. His salary is paid out of the charity.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1774. 13 Dec. | prisoners 3 | 1779. 23 Sept. | prisoners 6 and one lunatic. |
| 1776. 28 Sept. | „ 7 | 1782. 7 Feb. | „ 3 |

## ELY GAOL

This gaol, the property of the Bishop, who is lord of the franchise of the Isle of Ely, was in part rebuilt by Bishop Mawson in 1768, upon complaint of the cruel method which, for want of a safe gaol, the keeper took to secure his prisoners.[1]

For master's-side debtors three rooms upstairs: a room on the same floor for condemned felons. Below stairs is the felons' day-room; and their cell or night-room, eighteen and a half feet by ten, with a window about a foot square. There is a court for felons, with an offensive sewer. No water. For debtors a court with a pump; but no free ward. No infirmary. No straw. Clauses against spirituous liquors, and Act for preserving the health of prisoners, not hung up. Keeper, a sheriff's officer for the isle, and for the county of Cambridge. No table of fees.

Assize in this isle, of late, twice a year, viz. Lent at Ely, summer at Wisbech.

At my last visit, the debtors and felons were together.[2] One of the former was confined for 3s. 5½d., the charges 8s. 3d. another, who had a wife and five children, only for costs 4s. 9d. and gaol-fees 3s. 6d.

# NORFOLK

## COUNTY BRIDEWELL

Wymondham. A day-room; with three closets on one side of it, for night-rooms, about six feet by four. A prisoner complained to me of being obliged to lie in one of these closets, with two boys who had a cutaneous disorder. There is another room for women, in which, at my visit in 1779, there were four dirty and sickly objects at work with padlocks on their legs,

[1] This was by chaining them down on their backs upon a floor, across which were several iron bars; with an iron collar with spikes about their necks, and a heavy iron bar over their legs. An excellent magistrate, James Collyer, Esq., presented an account of the case, accompanied with a drawing, to the king; with which his Majesty was much affected, and gave immediate orders for a proper inquiry and redress.

[2] An unhappy debtor may be an honest man; but "Evil communications corrupt good manners."

though they are never out in the court except on Sundays. The very small quantity of straw on the floor was worn almost to dust. There is a dungeon down eight steps with the stocks in it. It is fifteen and a half feet by eight, and six feet high; now arched with brick; a dirt floor; has two apertures at the top, of a foot diameter. The justices seem to have overlooked a clause in a late Act of Parliament (fourteenth George III, chap. xliii) "to prevent the prisoners from being kept underground, whenever they can do it conveniently," as there is abundant room on the premises. Neither the rooms nor the spacious court secure. Prisoners in this bridewell are not only confined within doors, but generally in irons.

## SUFFOLK

### COUNTY GAOL AT IPSWICH

This is also the town gaol: yet only one courtyard. For debtors, a kitchen, or day-room; and several chambers: one of these is lately made a free ward. For felons a day-room: and for the men a strong night-room; with beds well contrived for cleanliness and health. Each prisoner has a crib-bedstead, ten or twelve inches high; the head raised a few inches; strong feet, low sides. These are easily moved when the ward is to be washed. The county allows to each crib a straw bed, and a blanket. The women have no separate day-room: and their ward, or night-room, has no fire-place. One of the two drinking-rooms is called the garnish room. Two rooms for the sick; not distinct enough from the rest. No bath. Debtors weave in hand-frames, like those at Lincoln, good garters, etc., and make purses, nets and laces which they sell at the front grate. I found this close prison clean, though full of prisoners. The water from the pump is conveyed through the sewers, which prevents the courtyard, which is small, from being offensive.

In the centre of the ceiling of a neat chapel lately built, is an aperture covered by a small turret, which keeps the room airy and pleasant. (All prison chapels should be thus supplied with fresh air.) Mr. Brome, the chaplain, does not content himself merely with the regular and punctual performance of his stated duty; he is a friend to the prisoners on all occasions.

## COUNTY BRIDEWELLS

LAVENHAM. A workroom below: a chamber for men; only one room for women: none of them secure. The prison is out of repair. At a former visit I heard that a prisoner had escaped, for which the keeper was fined, though the neglect lay in the magistrates. Two more, lately escaped through the plaster wall. Prisoners always kept within doors; the court not secure: no water: no straw. Keeper's salary, £15 14s. 8d. No fees. Employment, spinning wool. There is no proper separation of female prisoners. An old outhouse and stable of the keeper's might be made convenient for them. At my last visit, I found the magistrates had sent to the keeper a number of thumb-screws for securing prisoners.

CLARE. A workroom. Two lodging-rooms with boarded bedsteads. No chimneys. The workroom close glazed, and made offensive by a closet in it. No court. Prisoners have no access to the well of fine water. The prison is thatched, the walls are clay, but the men's lodging-room boarded; and the whole of it is ruinous: the prisoner in 1776, a woman, at work, in irons. No allowance. Each prisoner pays a penny a day for straw, etc. Keeper a weaver: salary, £13 13s. 4d.: no fees. Clauses against spirituous liquors not hung up. At my first visit in 1779, the three prisoners, though they were women, had each a heavy chain, and the two impressed men had chains and logs. No justices have visited this prison for many years.

# MIDLAND CIRCUIT

## WARWICKSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL AT WARWICK

"The felons were sadly crowded. Only one small day-room for the men; and I saw thirty-two lay chained in a dungeon of twenty-two feet diameter, down thirty-one steps; two of whom were ill of a slow fever.[1] There were three others in a room, very ill, and in irons. In two rooms (seven feet and a half by six and a half) with apertures only in the doors, there lay fourteen women, almost suffocated."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, p. 158.]

### COVENTRY CITY AND COUNTY GAOL

This gaol, built about 1772, is in a close part of the city. I was shown a fine spot which some gentlemen very judiciously preferred. It has eight lodging-rooms for master's-side debtors; and the common ward. Women felons have only one room, and that without a fire-place. The men have a day-room. To their dungeons there is a descent of twelve steps to a passage only four feet wide: the four dungeons are about nine feet by six: at the upper corner of each, a little window, eleven inches by seven. All are very damp, dirty, and offensive: we went down with torches. Only one court for all prisoners. No straw: no infirmary: no bath. Rooms might be made for criminals in the area where the old county hall stood; in which case, the horrid dungeons need not be used, and the sexes might be separated. Neither clauses against spirituous liquors, nor the Act for preserving the health of prisoners, are hung up.

[1] Before the convicts went off, who lately were ordered to Plymouth, this dungeon was so crowded that some of the poor wretches were forced to stand up (and take a sort of miserable night watch) while the others slept. From the aperture of this dungeon (which is three feet three inches wide) as from the door and the two funnels of the dungeon in the gaol at Stafford, the steam of the prisoners' breath comes out, in winter, like the smoke of a chimney.

One of the felons, James Ward, received his Majesty's pardon, on condition of his going to sea. Mr. Francis Waters, clerk of the assize, wrote in the letter which enclosed the pardon (which was dated 25 August, 1781), "The Secretary of State's fee is £1 7s. 0d. and my fee £1 1s. 0d. which you'll take care to receive on the back of the pardon from the officer who receives him." As no officer would take him on condition of paying this, together with 19s. 4d. the gaoler's and under-sheriff's fees, I found the poor wretch in May 1782, languishing in prison on his pound of bread a day.

### BIRMINGHAM TOWN GAOL

The gaol for this large populous town is called the Dungeon. The court is about twenty-five feet square. Keeper's house in front; and under it two cells down seven steps: the straw is on bedsteads. On one side of the court two night-rooms for women, eight feet by five feet nine inches; and some rooms over them: on the other side is one small day-room for men and women, and the gaoler's stable (from which the litter is flung into the court): above, was a free ward for Court of Conscience debtors, a sizable room, with only one window eighteen inches square. Over it is another room, or two.

At some particular times here are great numbers confined. Once in the winter 1775 there were above one hundred and fifty, who by the care of the magistrates had a supply of proper food, broth, etc.

## LEICESTERSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL AT LEICESTER

For master's-side debtors nine or ten rooms. Day-room common. The free ward, the cellar, is a dungeon, twenty-nine and a half feet by nine, and six feet eight inches high, down seven steps and damp;[1] two windows; the largest about

[1] This seems to be the low moist dungeon that was complained of by a debtor in this gaol, in his letter, 13 November, 1690, sent to Moses Pitt, a prisoner in the Fleet; who printed it, with other letters from prisoners, in his *Cry of the Oppressed*, 1691. By this, and one or two more of the letters in that little tract, it appears that some inconveniences which I observed in gaols, and have set down in my remarks, are of long standing.

fifteen inches square. Felons' day- and night-rooms are dungeons from five to seven steps underground. They sleep on thick mats on the floor; which, if cribs and coverlets were added, would be better than straw. The whole close and offensive. Court small, thirty-six feet by seventeen feet four inches. No chapel. Two rooms lately built for an infirmary: but the gaol is not convenient or healthy. In 1774, three debtors and a felon died of the smallpox. Of that disease I was informed few ever recover in this gaol. The castle hill is near the shirehall, and is a fine spot for air and water.

Clauses of the Act against the use of spirituous liquors painted on the same board as the table of fees. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners not hung up. Here, as in many other gaols, is a useless tub, instead of a bath for cleanliness and health.[1] An inscription on a board is fixed over the gate: "No money to be asked for by turnkeys or prisoners, for garnish or any other pretence whatever."

In this county they make an annual collection by a kind of voluntary brief. The gentlemen of the grand jury recommend it to the clergy: most of whom promote the collection in their respective parishes. The thanks of the grand jury to forty-eight clergymen by name, were inserted in the *Leicester Journal* of 16 February, 1775; for the satisfaction of those gentlemen and other contributors. There is a table of the sum received from each parish; and a list of debtors clothed or discharged; and an account of the expenditure of the remainder in feeding and warming all the prisoners in the inclement season. The collections in 1774 amounted to £74. I found in 1776 the accounts were kept, and the application of the money chiefly directed by John Simpson, Esq., of Leicester. I wish every county would imitate this exemplary benevolence: and I wish every county that does so, a steward equally faithful and assiduous. I am sorry to find the collection fall short. It amounted in 1779, only to £12 5s. 6d.; in 1780, to £6 1s. 9d.; and in 1781, to £3 18s. 0d.

[1] In many prisons I have mentioned that there is no bath, though baths are ordered in all gaols in the Act for preserving the health of prisoners. I would here also remind gentlemen, that when baths are provided in compliance with the Act, if they be not made convenient, so that felons in their irons may commodiously use them; and if there is no allowance for soap and towels, these prisoners will receive little or no benefit from them, and will never bathe but when actually compelled.

# DERBYSHIRE

## COUNTY BRIDEWELL

CHESTERFIELD. This house, given, as I was informed, to the county for a bridewell, was built in 1614. For men, a room or cellar seventeen feet square under the keeper's house; down eight steps; but level with the ground behind it: provision generally put through a hole in the floor, six inches square. A room for women upstairs. No straw. Nothing allowed by the county for conveyance to quarter sessions. Keeper's salary, now £30. No fees: no allowance: no employment. Clauses against spirituous liquors not hung up. A court is now made from one of the keeper's gardens; and there is a cellar for the women, of the same dimensions as that for the men, in which I saw a sick object committed for bastardy.[1]

## CHESTERFIELD GAOL

For the hundred of Scarsdale, is the property of the Duke of Portland; to whom, or to his steward, the gaoler pays £18 12s. od. a year. Only one room with a cellar under it; to which the prisoners occasionally descend through a hole in the floor. The cellar had not been cleaned for many months. The prison-door had not been opened for several weeks, when I was there first. There were four prisoners, who told me they were almost starved: one of them said, with tears in his eyes, "he had not eaten a morsel that day"; it was afternoon. Their meagre sickly countenances confirmed what they said. They had borrowed a book of Dr. Manton's; one of them was reading it

[1] I am apprised, that by an Act (seventh James, c. iv) justices of the peace are empowered to commit lewd women to the house of correction, there to be confined and set to labour, for the term of one whole year; but the woman is not to be apprehended till the child be born, and she has recovered her strength. *See* Dalton, c. xi; Burn, p. 207.

Before this rigorous law is put in execution, however, gentlemen would do well to inquire whether overseers of the poor have not procured such warrants only to save parish expenses; and for that purpose, aggravated the crime and misrepresented the condition of the culprit. In the present instance, and in too many others which I have known, I believe this to have been the case; and that much cruelty has been exercised both on the mother and child, by a commitment of the woman to her miserable habitation, while yet in a very weak state.

to the rest. Each of them had a wife; and they had in the whole thirteen children, cast on their respective parishes. Two had their groats from the creditors; and out of that pittance they relieved the other two. No allowance: no straw: no firing: water a halfpenny for about three gallons, put in (as other things are) at the window. Gaoler a bailiff, lives distant. I found in this prison a strong bedstead, which had been compassionately left by a poor prisoner, that it might be some relief to his unhappy successors.

## LINCOLNSHIRE

### COUNTY BRIDEWELL

GAINSBOROUGH. Two lodging-rooms,[1] and a day-room below, and two rooms upstairs: a court thirty-three feet square, in which is a new workroom: no water: no straw: no allowance: the prisoners were beating hemp at fourpence a stone. Conveyance to quarter sessions at keeper's expense. His salary, £30. No fees. Might be improved on the keeper's garden.

### STAMFORD TOWN GAOL

A TABLE of FEES for felons, etc., that lie on the common-side

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| For gaoler's fees for the gaol | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| To the smith ironing and taking off | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Lodging for each night | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| To the person who executes sentence of pillory, burning in the hand, or whipping | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| To the keeper of the house of correction for every person committed for the first night | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Every day that person continues in custody for attendance | 0 | 0 | 1 |

[1] I was surprised to find a lunatic of the other sex lodged in the room appropriated to the women.

# OXFORD CIRCUIT

## BERKSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL AT READING

The following verses are written over the debtors' grate to the street:

> Oh ye whose hours exempt from sorrow flow,
> Behold the seat of pain and want and woe:
> Think, while your hands th' entreated alms extend,
> That what to us ye give, to God ye lend.

I observed that the women were not only chained together by their hands, but had heavy irons also on their legs, as they were conducted to the sessions house.

When felons come to this prison, they are washed, and clothes provided by the county are put on. The men have a Russia-drab coat and breeches, a flannel waistcoat, two check shirts, and two pairs of yarn hose: the women, a linsey woolsey gown and petticoat, a flannel petticoat, two dowlas shifts, two pairs of yarn hose. Their own clothes are ticketed and hung up till the quarter sessions or assizes; when they put them on again to appear in on trial. Afterwards the county-clothes are washed, mended, and purified in an oven, for the use of future criminals. The clothing aforesaid for twenty men and five women cost only £26 6s. 8d. A gentleman sent to this gaol for the prisoners thirty-six rugs or coverlets which are now worn out.

### COUNTY BRIDEWELLS

READING. This is also the town bridewell. It was formerly a church, and is a spacious room, with four dark suffocating huts on one side for night-rooms, one for men sixteen feet by ten and a half and six and a half high; aperture in the door eight inches by five; straw worn to dust, not changed for four months: one for women fifteen feet eight inches by ten feet

nine inches; aperture in the door seven inches by five; the two other rooms less. The county pays rent to the corporation. It is dirty, and out of repair. Men and women are together in the daytime. No court: no water: allowance to felons, threepence a day; and to petty offenders, two pint loaves each, every Sunday, and one every week-day. Keeper's salary £18 from the county; £2 from the town: fees, 4s. 4d., no table; licence for beer: half the profit of the prisoners' work: £2 a year to find them straw. Clauses against spirituous liquors hung up: and there were on a board, some orders to be observed, approved by J. P. Andrews and Ferd. Collins, justices, 28 April, 1778.

1776, 1 Jan. prisoners 6. 1779, 21 April, prisoners 7.
1776, 1 Nov. „ 6. 1782, 5 March, „ 13.

"A new prison, containing six close (called refractory) cells, nine feet and a half by seven and a half; eight solitary cells, ten feet by seven feet nine inches, with courts about the same size; and six wards for prisoners, who are permitted to be together. The rooms are furnished with bedsteads and straw mattresses, but no coverlets. The sewers make most of the rooms and courts offensive. Here is a chapel, where the worthy chaplain officiates twice a week. Allowance, a threepenny loaf daily (weight 2 lb. 3 oz.) and meat on Sundays. No employment. Keeper's salary £50. No fees. The names of the prisoners, and terms of confinement, are written on the doors of their cells. I observed some were for one year: a severe confinement, to be so long in solitude, unemployed, in nauseous cells, and without fire in winter.[1]

1788, 12 July, prisoners 17."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 169, 192.]

[1] "I wish all prisoners to have separate rooms; for hours of thoughtfulness and reflection are necessary. The gentlemen of this county, by their building this house of correction, and in various other instances, have shown themselves so attentive, and zealous in whatever may contribute to the real interests of their fellow-creatures, that I am glad to take this occasion of making some remarks on solitary confinement. The intention of this, I mean by day as well as by night, is either to reclaim the most atrocious and daring criminals; to punish the refractory for crimes committed in prison; or to make a strong impression, in a short time, upon thoughtless and irregular young persons, as faulty apprentices, and the like. It should therefore be considered by those who are ready to commit, for a long term, petty offenders to absolute solitude, that such a state is more than human nature can bear, without the hazard of distraction or despair; that it is repugnant to the Act which orders all persons in houses of correction to work; and that for want of some employment in the day (as in several houses of correction) health is injured, and a

ABINGDON. Two dirty day-rooms; and three offensive night-rooms: that for men eight feet square: one of the women's, nine by eight; the other four and a half feet square: the straw, worn to dust, swarmed with vermin: no court: no water accessible to prisoners. The petty offenders were in irons: at my last visit, eight were women. Allowance, if felons, threepence a day. Keeper's salary, £18: fees, 4s. 4d., no table. At all my visits the prisoners had no employment.

1776, 2 Jan. prisoners 3. 1782, 25 Dec. prisoners 13, drs. 1.
1779, 22 Apr. „ 3.

WINDSOR CASTLE PRISON, for debtors. I need not observe that his Majesty is proprietor. The Duke of Montague is constable: he appoints a janitor with a salary: the janitor appoints a deputy, who for a house rent-free, and certain perquisites, does the duty. The prison out of repair. It consists of three rooms on the first floor and three rooms over them.

At my last visit I found that the old keeper had been murdered in the tap-room by a soldier, who also killed another, and was then shot himself. This is not the first instance I have known of persons being murdered in the tap-room of gaols. Such are the bad effects of selling liquors in prisons.

habit of idleness or inability to labour in future, is in danger of being acquired. The beneficial effects on the mind, of such a punishment, are speedy, proceeding from the horror of a vicious person left entirely to his own reflections. This may wear off by long continuance, and a sullen insensibility may succeed.

"In all manufacturing towns it would be proper to have solitary cells for the confinement of faulty apprentices and servants for a few days, where they should be constrained to work, and have no visitors unless clergymen: for a short term would probably do more to effect a reformation, than three or four months' confinement; as it is generally found that in the first two or three days prisoners seem to have their minds most affected and penitent.

"A county magistrate said: 'We have thought it necessary to refrain from commitment in many cases where that mode of proceeding would otherwise have been salutary, from a full persuasion of the total unfitness of the places of confinement or of correction, to answer those reformatory purposes for which a well-regulated restraint is peculiarly calculated.'"

# OXFORDSHIRE

## COUNTY GAOL, OXFORD CASTLE

*Gaoler.* Solomon Wisdom.
Salary: £20.
Fees: Debtors, £0 9s. 2d.
Felons, £0 15s. 10d.
Transports: He made a bill of the expense.
Licence: Beer and wine.

*Prisoners.*
Allowance: Debtors, none. (*See* remarks.)
Felons, County, 16d. each per week in bread; City, 1s. (*See* remarks.)
Garnish: Cancelled.
Number:

| | Debtors | Felons, etc. | | Debtors | Felons, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1773. 26 Nov. | 14 | 13 | 1779. 25 Feb. | 12 | 15 |
| 1774. 4 July | 11 | 17 | 1779. 29 July | 13 | 4 |
| 1776. 2 Jan. | 13 | 10 | 1782. 28 April | 16 | 10 |
| 1776. 31 Oct. | 7 | 14 | 1782. 25 Dec. | 25 | 31 |

*Chaplain.* Rev. Mr. Swinton, now Rev. Mr. Cotton.
Duty: Sunday, Wednesday, Friday; the sacrament four times a year.
Salary: £50, now £40.

*Surgeon.* Mr. Rawlins.
Salary: £25 for felons.

For the castle gaol the county pays £40 a year to Mr. Etty, who holds it of Christchurch College on lease. Debtors' apartments small; and not enough of them for the general number of prisoners. No free ward: for lodging even in the tower on their own beds they must pay 1s. 6d. a week: see the table. Their court is too small. Felons' day-room or hall for men and women down five steps, twenty-three feet by eleven, the men's dungeon (eighteen and a half feet by sixteen and a half), down five more; only small apertures: the women's night-room six and a half feet by four feet two inches. The court common to both, twenty-nine feet by twenty-three. The gaoler has a spacious garden.

Since the north gate was taken down, this prison has been also the city gaol: for which Mr. Wisdom has £5 a year. In 1773, eleven died of the smallpox. In 1774, that distemper

still in the gaol: in 1775, one debtor died of it in May; three debtors and a petty offender in June: three recovered. No infirmary: no bath: no straw: the prisoners lie in their clothes on mats. The men's dungeon swarms with vermin; yet not whitewashed for many years. Of the thirty-one felons, etc., in 1782, fifteen were fines. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners not hung up. In April 1782, one of the prisoners was a woman committed for contempt, with no charge or fine. The warrant runs, "As Royal Power ought not to be wanting to the holy church in its complaints . . . attach . . . till she has made satisfaction to the holy church . . . as well for the contempt . . . as for the injury done unto it."

Thomas Horde, who was confined here for some offence against Government, built the chapel. After his discharge, he had bequeathed £14 a year for a chaplain; and as much to the prisoners. But finding some difficulties would obstruct the execution of that bequest, he altered it, 6 August, 1709, to a legacy of £24 a year, to be distributed among prisoners of both sorts, at £2 a month. For the payment, he bound an estate in Oxfordshire: and to make up any deficiency of that estate, he bound an estate in Berkshire. But this estate having been recovered against the charity since his death, the prisoners have now only thirty-three shillings a month, which was paid by the rector of Lincoln College, and is now paid by the principal of Trinity, who are always two of the twelve trustees. A memorial of the process and result of Mr. Horde's benevolent intention hangs up in the gaol. I have a copy of it; too long to transcribe.

There is another legacy to prisoners of both sorts; 8s. 8d. paid quarterly from Magdalen College. From which also in Lent there is about forty shillings, commonly called forfeit-money. Debtors have in common every Saturday six pounds of mutton; sent by a gentleman of Christchurch College. From two other colleges they have in bread about 2s. a week. Christchurch and New College send them broth; generally three times in a fortnight: the prisoners pay fourpence to the man who brings it.

It is very probable, that the rooms in this castle are the same as the prisoners occupied at the time of the Black Assize. The wards, passages and staircases are close and offensive; so that if crowded, I should not greatly wonder to hear of another fatal assize at Oxford.[1] At my last visit some of the debtors' rooms

[1] Mr. Wisdom (the gaoler) told me that some years ago, wanting to build a little hovel, and digging up stones for the purpose, from the ruins of the court, which was formerly in the castle, he found under them a complete

were whitewashed. The felons' day-room is paved with flat stones, in consequence of their taking up the pebbles for defence, after an attempt to escape. For the same reason their court should be thus paved.

### "COUNTY GAOL, OXFORD CASTLE

"A prison is now building for a county gaol and bridewell, on Mr. Blackburn's plan. The very active and worthy magistrate, Mr. Willoughby, has put in practice Dr. Fothergill's favourite scheme of employing the convicts in building, which he had adopted in regard to the intended penitentiary houses.[1] Here the lodges, and the gateway with the chapel over it, will be built entirely by the convicts. These were at work, and guarded only by one man, though several of them, for their good behaviour, had their irons taken off. This proves, that among such delinquents many are reclaimable, and not so entirely abandoned as some are apt to suppose. (They were going to work on the navigation.) The encouragements here given with respect to their diet, clothes, and term of confinement, have been the means of recovering many from their bad habits, and of rendering them useful members of society. Here the convicts are not defrauded of the king's allowance of 2s. 6d. a week."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 170–1.]

## WORCESTERSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL, WORCESTER CASTLE

The castle yard is spacious: county members are chosen in it. In the gaoler's house are eleven good lodging-rooms for master's-side debtors; and two small day-rooms; one of which is for common-side debtors: one of these was used, at my former visits, as a chapel; but now there is a larger and more

skeleton with light chains on the legs, the links very small. These were, probably, the bones of a malefactor who died in court of the distemper at the Black Assize mentioned page 212.

[1] "Some prisoners, when they are discharged, are completely clothed, have a little money in their pockets, and a good character given them, with a further promise that if they bring at the end of the year, a certificate from the master with whom they work of a good and sober character, they shall be further rewarded."

convenient room for that purpose. The two free wards or night-rooms for debtors, are at another part of the yard. The way to them is through the women felons' night-room, which has no window. The day-room (called the round house) for men and women felons is in the middle of the area; only fourteen feet by twelve.[1] Near it is a hand-ventilator (which is kept in order for a guinea a year) for airing the men felons' dungeon, which is twenty-six steps under ground, and circular, eighteen feet diameter, with barrack-bedsteads. Over it is an aperture in the court, three feet diameter, with iron grates. The felons work the ventilator cheerfully about a quarter of an hour before they go down, and as long when they come up; for it freshens and cools the dungeon amazingly: we could hardly keep our candle burning below while it was working.[2] There is another very damp dungeon fifteen and a half feet square, the window (eighteen inches by twelve) even with the ground. Straw, £4 a year. Excellent water at a pump in the yard. No infirmary. Mr. Hallward, the surgeon, caught the gaol-fever some years ago, and has ever since been fearful of going into the dungeon: when any felon is sick there, he orders him to be brought out. The smallpox was in this gaol; and at my last visit I found the gaol-fever prevailing, which had carried off some of the prisoners, the gaoler, and Dr. Johnstone, a physician, whose humanity had led him to attend the prison.[3] Two rooms were taken from the bridewell for the sick, who lay in their clothes on straw. At my request, the irons of those who were ill were taken off.

[1] The magistrates may be fully convinced of the impropriety and shocking indecency of having only one day-room, if they examine the women lately sent from this gaol to the bridewell.

[2] The celebrated contrivance of ventilators has been so little attended to in practice, that in all the prisons in this kingdom there are but six of these machines, viz. at Maidstone and Bedford, where they are worked with sails; at London bridewell, Worcester Castle, Stafford, and Shrewsbury; and the two latter have not been used for many years past. This sufficiently shows how liable any new regulation is to fall into neglect, if not constantly the object of care and attention. With respect to ventilators, however, I am now fully confirmed in an opinion I have long entertained, that they are inadequate to the purpose of preventing, and still more of eradicating, the gaol-distemper, while the use of dungeons is continued.

[3] A letter from Dr. Johnstone, senior, dated 18 December, 1783, informs me of the following fact: "A prisoner some time ago dismissed from the gaol here, carried the fever to his own family in Droitwich, six miles from this place, and famous for its salt springs and works; a place where fevers have seldom been heard of but from contagion: the contagion from the above occasion has spread to the poor neighbours of the family above-mentioned, and fourteen individuals have already died of it."

The uneasy situation of the prisoners at night in the horrid dungeon, has, I doubt not, been one cause of their illness; for even in this strong and deep dungeon, prisoners (as in too many other gaols) are all night chained together, by a heavy chain through the links in their fetters and iron rings fastened to the floor.

There is now a useless tub lined with lead, called a bath. Such a bath as there is in the county infirmary, might save the lives of many prisoners.

## STAFFORDSHIRE

### COUNTY BRIDEWELL

STAFFORD. At the north gate. Three rooms for men and two for women. A room below (called the dungeon) with four apertures about three inches square. No employment. Prisoners always shut up, and in irons; the small court not secure.

## SHROPSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL AT SHREWSBURY

This prison was built, as by date in the debtors' court, 1705. Separate courts for debtors and felons; but the latter have no water. For this reason, and because their day-room is in the debtors' court, both debtors and felons are commonly together in that court. Commodious apartments for master's-side debtors: and two large free wards for the common-side. For felons there are two night-dungeons down eleven steps: that for men was a few years ago made more airy by an additional window: and might be freshened by a hand-ventilator which is in the room over the chapel, but has not been used for many years. The women's dungeon might also be freshened by the same. The day-room for felons is small, fifteen and a half feet by five and a half: a separate day-room is necessary to prevent the dreadful consequences of the men and women being together. Most of the women when moved to the bridewell are with child. The county has enclosed another court, which I thought had been designed for women, but it has not yet been used. Here are three large lamps in the court supplied at the county's expense.

# HEREFORDSHIRE

## COUNTY BRIDEWELL

HEREFORD. On the castle green, is quite out of repair. Indeed it is not only ruinous, but dangerous: a cross wall is parted a great way from the wall against which it abutted. In the day-room there was a large quantity of water from the roof. No fire-place: offensive sewers: no court: no water: no stated allowance: no employment. Keeper's salary, £10. He told me that a little before I came, a prisoner died after three weeks' confinement. Six prisoners, whom I saw there at my first visit, complained of being almost famished. They were sent hither from the assize a few days before to hard labour (as the sentence usually runs) for six months. The justices had ordered the keeper to supply each of them daily with a twopenny loaf: but he had neglected them. They broke out soon after.

# GLOUCESTERSHIRE

## COUNTY GAOL, GLOUCESTER CASTLE

The castle is also one of the county bridewells: yet only one court for all prisoners; and one day-room (eleven feet nine inches by ten feet seven), for men and women felons. The free ward for debtors is nineteen feet by eleven, which having no window, part of the plaster wall is broken down for light and air. The night-room (the main) for men felons, though up many stone steps, is close and dark; and the floor is so ruinous, that it cannot be washed. Adjoining to the main, there are other night-rooms for fines, etc. These have also their separate day-room. The whole prison was much out of repair, and had not been whitewashed for many years. The upper rooms were the bridewell; but at my last visit they were used for an infirmary. Many prisoners died here in 1773, and I generally saw some sick in this gaol; eight died about Christmas 1778 of the small-pox; and in 1783, several died of that disorder and the gaol-fever. Only one sewer. No bath. Neither clauses against spirituous liquors, nor the Act for preserving the health of prisoners, are hung up.

There is no separation of the women, or of the bridewell

prisoners. The licentious intercourse of the sexes is shocking to decency and humanity. Many children have been born in this gaol. There is a small chapel, but all the endeavours of the chaplain to promote reformation among the prisoners must necessarily be defeated, by the inattention of the magistrates, and their neglect of framing and enforcing good regulations. Perhaps this is the reason the chaplain seldom attends.

Of the felons, etc., in September and December, 1776, thirteen were transports: most of them convicted at Lent assize 1775. About twenty were fines; who, not having the county allowance, nor any employment, were in September very pitiable objects indeed; half naked, and almost famished. But in December their appearance was much altered. Mr. Raikes[1] and other gentlemen took pity on them, and generously contributed toward the feeding and clothing them. Mr. Raikes continues his unremitting attention to the prisoners. Eleven of the twenty-four in 1779, sixteen in 1782, and fourteen in 1783, were fines without any employment or allowance. The gaoler has £10 a year as bridewell keeper.

In this gaol were some prisoners, who had been arrested by exchequer writs; in which an officer is commanded "to bring the body before the barons of the exchequer—at Westminster —to answer our sovereign lord the king concerning divers trespasses, contempts, and offences, etc." The prisoners are called contempts. In different parts of the kingdom, there are many prisoners detained by such writs.

At my visit in December 1782, I found some improvements made in the castle: the floors laid with stone; boxes or bedsteads for the felons and fines; and the whole prison whitewashed. When prisons are repaired, particular care should be taken for the admission of air. The windows should not be close glazed. I observed numbers of the townsmen drinking in the tap-room here, as in too many other gaols.

[1] This gentleman is also the founder of a benevolent and useful institution for the children of the poor in this city. Having observed great numbers of them in this manufacturing place to spend their Sundays in an idle and dissolute manner, he established several little schools for their instruction on the evenings of that day; which, by his attention and liberal encouragement, have had a happy effect in improving the morals of the younger classes; many of whom now look up to their kind benefactor with great esteem and affection. Perhaps Mr. Raikes's frequent visits to the castle suggested to him this plan, as the best means of preventing youth from coming there.[2]

[2] Mr. Raikes's Sunday Schools spread, and a statue in the Charing Cross Embankment Gardens, London, commemorates him as the founder of the movement.—[Ed.]

## COUNTY BRIDEWELL

BERKELEY. Quite out of repair. Only one room for men and women, eighteen feet four inches by fifteen feet four, and seven feet nine inches high: the window (near four feet square) not glazed; no straw: no chimney: court not secure. Nothing has been laid out on this prison these twenty years. The sensible old keeper lamented the bad effects of close confinement in idleness, upon the health of even young strong prisoners. Many such, he said, he had known quite incapable of working for some weeks after their discharge. He told me, that some years ago his prisoners used to grind malt for a penny a bushel; and the justices would not license any victualler whose malt was not ground here: but that of late years they have done no work at all. No allowance. Keeper, Francis Norman: his salary, £20; but he pays out of it £6 to the poor of the parish for ground-rent: fees, 4s. 4d., no table. He wrote me lists of his prisoners, which I here transcribe.

Account of prisoners committed to labour and correction in the bridewell at Berkeley, sent to the House of Commons.[1]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1771. | Nothing expended, nothing earned . . . | 21 |
| 1772. | „ „ . . . | 20 |
| 1773. | „ „ . . . | 19 |
| 1774. | „ „ . . . | 15 |
| 1775. | To Midsummer sessions. Nothing expended, nothing earned . . . . . | 4 |

FRANCIS NORMAN.

A further account of prisoners committed to labour and correction.

| | | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1778. | Nothing expended, nothing earned . . | 6 | 4 |
| 1779. | „ „ . . | 7 | 2 |
| 1780. | „ „ . . | 2 | 1 |
| 1781. | „ „ . . | 12 | 8 |
| 1782. | To Michaelmas sessions. Nothing expended, nothing earned . . . . | 4 | 0 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1774. | 22 Aug. | prisoners 3. | Two men, one woman. |
| 1775. | 6 Dec. | „ 0 | |
| 1779. | 9 June | „ 0 | |
| 1782. | 25 Oct. | „ 1 | |

[1] Many such accounts would have been received at the House of Commons (in consequence of their order to send the account of money expended and earned), if keepers had been equally honest with F. Norman.

# WESTERN CIRCUIT

## HAMPSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL AT WINCHESTER

This gaol is kept very clean; and the alterations in it are improvements. The present dungeon, forty-eight feet by twenty-three, is down but five steps: it is lofty (twelve feet), boarded, and has three large windows. The former destructive dungeon was darker, and down eleven steps: Mr. Lipscomb informed me that more than twenty prisoners had died in it of the gaol-fever in one year; and that his predecessor died of the same distemper. There are two rooms over the dungeon, for common-side debtors; three rooms with beds for felons who pay, and two rooms for women. The felons' day-room is commodiously enlarged. Their straw mattresses and coverlets are brought out and aired when the weather is fine. The beds are all on crib bedsteads. They had every day a clean towel hung on a roller: the prisoner who took care of it and delivered it next day was paid a penny. If a little court, which is now shut up from the gaol, and totally useless, were cleared, and opened towards the prison, it would be very conducive to health and convenience. The chapel is very low and inconvenient.

St. Cross's Hospital bread (the dole) is about a penny loaf given to each of the prisoners six times a year; viz. on the eve of the following days, 10 August, 31 October, Christmas, Easter, 3 May, and Whitsunday.

The college allowance to felons is, once a week, an ox's head, four sheep's heads and henges, about seventeen pints of oatmeal, three pints of salt, twelve loaves the size of twopenny halfpenny ones, about twenty-four gallons of table beer, and generally three times a week the broken victuals.

## WILTSHIRE

### SALISBURY COUNTY GAOL

Just without the prison gate was a round staple fixed in the wall: through it was put a chain, at each end of which a common-side debtor padlocked by the leg, stood offering to those who

pass by, nets, laces, purses, etc., made in the prison. The two whom I saw there last were Crown debtors not cleared by the Insolvent Act. Now, this is not permitted.

At Christmas, felons chained together are permitted to go about; one of them carrying a sack or basket for food; another, a box for money.

## COUNTY BRIDEWELL

MARLBOROUGH. A common workroom thirteen and a half feet by twelve and a half: a lodging-room for women twenty-three feet two inches by nine feet eight: another for men; this is thirteen and a half feet by ten; window nineteen inches by fifteen, not to the open air, but to the workroom, which has but one window. All these rooms are on the ground-floor; and by a sewer within doors, they are made very offensive, especially the men's night-room; in which, when I was there first, I saw one dying on the floor of the gaol-fever. The keeper told me that just before, one had died there, and another soon after his discharge. Upstairs are three rooms for those who pay 2s. 6d. a week. No court: no water accessible to prisoners: no straw. Allowance to petty offenders, none; felons, three halfpennyworth of bread a day and a pint of small beer. Keeper's salary lately raised from £20 to £50, to supply the prisoners with bread. The county pays the fees, 7s. 8d. at the discharge of every prisoner. (The fees were formerly, as in a table dated 1671, felons, £1 6s. 4d.; petty offenders, 14s. 4d., etc.). Licence for beer. A surgeon; his salary £10 10s. 0d. At my visits in 1775 and 1776, some prisoners were at work; but none in 1779. One of them said, with evident concern, "he had been there thirty weeks and had not earned one halfpenny." In 1782, no employment. On asking the prisoners, if they desired to work; they readily answered in the affirmative. Two said, their wives had brought them wool, but the keeper would not permit them to spin it. I heard the justices had viewed the outside of this prison.

# DORSETSHIRE

## COUNTY BRIDEWELL

SHERBORNE. The justices have very judiciously provided for the relief of prisoners going to different quarter sessions. Their order, dated 12 April, 1774, is as follows:

*Sherborn, Dorset.* The great inhumanity that frequently happens unto the several prisoners—conveyed to the different quarter sessions to be tried, by the walking loaded with heavy irons, being taken into consideration—it is the resolution and order of this court that for the future the gaol-keeper and bridewell-keeper shall provide for one prisoner only a horse, for two or more a convenient cart or carriage for the conveying them: and to be allowed the sum of threepence per mile for one person; for two or more the sum of sixpence a mile, etc.

# DEVONSHIRE

## HIGH GAOL AT EXETER

This gaol is the property of John Denny Rolle, Esq., whose family had a grant of it from the Duchy of Cornwall: the late gaoler paid him rent £22 per annum. The house and court are too small: there is only one day-room for men and women felons; this is used as the chapel. Over it is the women's lodging-room. There are three rooms for fines, etc., one below and two above; that below is sometimes used for the condemned. There are three night-dungeons (about twenty feet by twelve) down three steps; the small window of one of them is under a staircase. These dungeons are the more unhealthy as at one part they are seven or eight feet underground. Mr. Rule, the late surgeon, told me that he was by contract excused from attending in the dungeons any prisoners that should have the gaol-fever. There are now two rooms for an infirmary, but the stairs that lead up to the men's rooms are intolerably bad: no bath. The court is paved with pebbles (flagstones would be much better). In it is an offensive sewer. At the top of the gaoler's house is an alarm bell. The prisoners formerly made cabbage-nets for twopence a dozen; and purses of different sorts from fourpence

to sevenpence a dozen: the turnkey found the twine and thread.[1] Two sailors fined a shilling each had £1 1s. 4d. each to pay the clerk of the peace, besides the gaoler's fees.

An elegant shirehall is now finished: may it not be hoped that the gentlemen will turn their thoughts to this crowded, offensive, and destructive gaol, especially the proprietor, who (in 1782) liberally subscribed £1000 to encourage seamen to enter into his Majesty's fleet; and who possesses an estate to uphold this prison?

## PLYMOUTH TOWN GAOL

Three rooms for felons, etc., and two rooms over them for debtors. One of the former, the clink, fifteen feet by eight feet three inches, and about five and a half feet high, with a wicket in the door seven inches by five to admit light and air. To this, as I was informed, three men who were confined nearly two months under sentence of transportation, came by turns for breath. The door had not been opened for five weeks when I with difficulty entered to see a pale inhabitant. He had been there ten weeks under sentence of transportation, and said he had much rather have been hanged than confined in that noisome cell. In another room (thirteen feet by five and a half and six feet nine inches high, the window only eighteen inches by fourteen, and the wall two feet eight inches thick), at my last visit there were two prisoners; one of whom assured me he had been there upwards of seven weeks, and sometimes, with four or five other prisoners, where they were almost suffocated. The other room is for women (seventeen feet by ten). The whole is dirty, and has not been whitewashed for many years. No court: no water. The gaolers live distant; they are the three sergeants at mace. Fees, 15s. 4d., no table. Allowance to debtors, none but on application: felons, twopennyworth of bread a day. No straw.

[1] This art is very soon learnt, and when the prisoners were thus employed, I found them cheerful and healthy; they said they earned from three-halfpence to twopence a day each, with which they got a little milk or beer to their bread; and the old keeper said "it kept them out of mischief."

# CORNWALL

## COUNTY GAOL AT LAUNCESTON FOR FELONS

This gaol, though built in the large green belonging to the old ruinous castle, is very small; house and court measuring only fifty-two feet by forty-four; and the house not covering half that ground. The prison is a room or passage twenty-three and a half feet by seven and a half, with only one window two feet by one and a half: and three dungeons or cages on the side opposite the window: these are about six and a half feet deep; one nine feet long; one about eight; one not five: this last for women. They were all very offensive. No chimney: no water: no sewers: damp earth floors: no infirmary. The court not secure; and prisoners seldom permitted to go out to it. Indeed the whole prison is out of repair, and yet the gaoler lives distant. I once found the prisoners chained two or three together. Their provision was put down to them through a hole (nine inches by eight) in the floor of the room above (used as a chapel); and those who served them there, often caught the fatal fever. At my first visit I found the keeper, his assistant, and all the prisoners but one (an old soldier) sick of it: and heard that a few years before, many prisoners had died of it; and the keeper and his wife in one night.

## COUNTY GAOL AT BODMIN

This new gaol is built on a fine eminence, at a little distance from the town, where there is a constant current of water. Here is a good house for the gaoler, in which there are apartments for master's-side debtors, and a chapel. There are separate rooms and courts for each sex of debtors, of felons, and of petty offenders or bridewell prisoners; and each prisoner has a separate lodging-room (about eight feet two inches by five feet eight, and seven and a half feet high), which is furnished with a bedstead, straw-bed, two blankets and a coverlet. There are two rooms for an infirmary, and under them three condemned cells. In two of the courts are baths. In the centre of the gaoler's house there is a turret with an alarm-bell and clock. The men who are confined for petty offences, are employed in sawing and polishing stone, and, as they have the county

allowance, have only one-sixth of what they earn. Clauses against spirituous liquors are hung up. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners is not hung up, but the gaol is now kept very neat and clean.

By a spirited exertion, the gentlemen of this county have erected a monument of their humanity, and attention to the health and morals of prisoners.

Here were committed from 13 January, 1780, to 27 July, 1782, Debtors 75, Felons, etc., 92, Petty offenders 94.

The following table of fees and regulations were printed and hung up, though not signed.

A TABLE OF FEES AND RATES, proposed to be taken by the Head Gaoler and Turnkeys, at Bodmin

*From Debtors, First Class*

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Every debtor voluntarily going into the master's ward, to pay the keeper at entrance | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| To the turnkeys | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| To keeper at discharge | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| To the turnkeys | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Every debtor lodging in the master's house, a bed to himself, per week | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Two such debtors in a bed each | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Every debtor in master's house, bringing his own bed for lodging-room | 0 | 1 | 3 |

*Second Class*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Every debtor lodged over the arcades, to the keeper at entrance | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| To turnkeys | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| To keeper at discharge | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| To turnkeys | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Every such debtor over the arcades lodged in the keeper's bed and room to himself, per week | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Two such debtors in a bed, each per week | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Common debtors having only straw, mattress, or their own bed, to keeper at discharge | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| To turnkeys | 0 | 2 | 0 |

*Debtors in General*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| For signing every certificate to obtain a *supersedeas*, or a rule, or order of court | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| For copy of sheriff's warrant, if demanded | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| For registering any declaration against prisoner | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| For discharge of every debtor on composition, or by any act of insolvency, or for want of prosecution, (of which 2s. 5d. is to be the turnkey's fee) | 0 | 17 | 5 |

*From Felons*

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| For every felon acquitted and discharged . . . | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| For every person bailed out, or discharged, for which the fee is not paid by the county . . . . . | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| For every convict discharged . . . . . | 0 | 13 | 4 |

*From Persons Committed to Bridewell*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| For every person discharged from bridewell . . . | 0 | 13 | 4 |

ARTICLES, REGULATIONS, and ALLOWANCES, established for the Gaol, Bridewell, and Sheriff's Ward, at Bodmin

I. No garnish or other exactions at entrance permitted to be taken.

II. No abuse, ill-treatment, or affray, to be suffered between the prisoners; if such do happen, the actors and abettors to be punished at the discretion of the head gaoler, by closer confinement, harder labour, or reduced allowance.

III. All sorts of games for money or liquors, are strictly prohibited, and must be prevented, and innocent exercises and such as are conducive to health only to be allowed.

IV. Irons to be provided at the county expense, and kept ready, but not used, except they are absolutely necessary for punishment or security.

V. Master or principal debtors of property, are to be lodged at their own request and choice, in the keeper's house, paying the established rates and no more, for rooms, beds, and diet.—Ordinary debtors are to be lodged over the arcades in beds of the keepers, or their own, according to their choice or ability of paying the established rates.

VI. Every man felon, and bridewell criminal, shall be allowed every day one pound and three ounces of good wholesome bread, and every woman felon, and bridewell criminal, one pound of the same sort of bread, unless such allowances shall be reduced by order of the head gaoler for ill-behaviour.

VII. All felons who receive a daily allowance, should be kept to some work. All persons committed to hard labour shall be strictly kept thereto; and all other criminals in bridewell should have some employment. The stated time of labouring to be ten hours per day in summer, and eight hours in winter. The keeper to have one sixth part of the earnings, the persons labouring one sixth part for their own use, besides the full amount of their extra work, and the remaining two third parts to go to the county stock, towards the expense of their maintenance.

VIII. The head gaoler to ring his bell at the hour of locking-up, which is to be at six o'clock in the evening, from the first day of October to the thirty-first of March, and at eight o'clock during the rest of the year. To ring also at opening the cells, which is to be at sun rising in the morning, from the first of November to the thirty-first of March, and at six o'clock the rest of the year. No

person to be suffered to go into the night cells in the daytime, unless to wash or clean them; the doors and windows to be kept open when the prisoners are let out, except the doors at the foot of each staircase, which are always to be shut.

IX. The night cells to be cleaned by one of the prisoners daily, and washed once a week, or oftener, if thought necessary, for which mops and brooms will be allowed. No filth of any kind to be left in the courts, nor any sticks, stones, or other obstructions thrown down the houses of office, under severe punishment to the offender, and indulgence to the informer.

X. The chaplain will read prayers and preach every Saturday, Government fast, and thanksgiving days, in the chapel, at which all persons in the several wards must attend, (if in a condition so to do) otherwise they will be punished at the discretion of the gaoler.

XI. All the felons and bridewell delinquents, who attend divine service the preceding Saturday, and behave well, shall have, besides the established allowance of bread, half a pound of meat, at the county expense, made into broth, every Sunday for dinner.

XII. It is requested and recommended to the justices at Bodmin sessions, the grand jury at the assizes, and every justice acting in the commission of the peace, to inspect, as often as possible, the gaol and bridewell, and to inquire into the treatment of the prisoners, and the distribution of their respective allowances.

The sheriff and his deputy, it is to be hoped, will often visit, and inquire into the state and treatment of the felons, as well as the debtors.

XIII. The head gaoler to keep a book of register for each ward, in which he is to enter the following particulars of every person who shall be committed to his custody.—Date of confinement—Person's name—Place of abode—By whom confined—For what offence—Stature, complexion, etc.—Where discharged or how disposed of—Remarks on behaviour, etc.

## PENZANCE

A prison for the Hundred and Liberties of Penwith. The property of Lord Arundel. Two rooms in the keeper's stable-yard; but distant from his house, and quite out of sight and hearing. The room for men is full eleven feet square, and six high: window eighteen inches square: no chimney. Earth floor; very damp. The door had not been opened for four weeks when I went in; and then the keeper began to clear away the dirt. There was only one debtor, who seemed to have been robust, but was grown pale by ten weeks' close confinement, with little food, which he had from a brother, who was poor and had a family. He said, the dampness of the prison, with but little straw, had obliged him (he spoke with sorrow) to

send for the bed on which some of his children lay. He had a wife and ten children, two of whom died since he came thither, and the rest were almost starving. He has written me a letter since, by which I learn that his distress was not mitigated, and that he had a companion, miserable as himself. No allowance. Keeper no salary: fees, 8s. 4d. every action: no table.

A few years ago five prisoners, I was informed, grew desperate by what they suffered in this wretched prison, and broke out.

## SOMERSETSHIRE

### BRISTOL NEWGATE

This Newgate (as that in the metropolis) stands in the midst of the city. It is too small for the general number of prisoners. For debtors there are about fifteen rooms; yet no free ward. The poorest pay tenpence halfpenny a week: others, two shillings and sixpence. For women felons, a day-room and several night-rooms. For men felons, a day-room, which might be conveniently enlarged: a court adjacent twenty feet by twelve, very close. Their dungeon, the pit, down eighteen steps, is seventeen feet diameter, and eight and a half high: barrack-bedsteads: no bedding or straw. It is close and offensive; only a small window. There is another yard, the tennis-court, larger than that of the felons: here (as in several other gaols) I have seen the debtors mix in diversions with the felons; by which, they become more daring and wicked than the felons. In this court is a convenient bath, but seldom used. Pumps out of order. Here is no proper separation of men and women, nor of fines, etc. A room or two at the top of the house for an infirmary. There are many narrow passages: the utmost attention is requisite to keep the prison healthy. I found it clean; considering it was so crowded and so close. It was scraped and whitewashed once a year before the Act for preserving the health of prisoners. That Act is neatly painted on a board hung up in the chapel, which is commodious and has a gallery: several texts of Scripture are painted in sundry parts of it. Clauses against spirituous liquors are not hung up. No table of gaoler's fees.

The Rev. Mr. James Rouquet has been unwearied in attention to the spiritual and temporal interests of the prisoners; officiating nearly twenty years without a salary. He had only once a gratuity of £20. Mr. Easterbrook now appointed. Besides the service noted in its place, there are thirteen sermons a year, for which the preacher has £4 from a legacy.

## BRIDGEWATER TOWN GAOL

Only one middle-sized room; and one of the two windows stopped up. In this room at midsummer quarter sessions 1774, were shut up twenty-seven prisoners. At summer assize the same year, thirteen; two of them women. Assize generally lasts from Monday to Saturday. The keeper's mother complained to me of the confusion and distress occasioned by confining prisoners thus for so long a time.

# NORTHERN CIRCUIT

## YORKSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL, YORK CASTLE

In the spacious area is a noble prison for debtors, which does honour to the county. There is an ascent by a fine flight of stone steps to a floor on which are eleven rooms, full sixteen feet square, nearly twelve feet high. Above them is the same number of rooms: one or two of these for common-side debtors. The rooms are airy and healthy. The debtors weave garters, purses, laces, etc., in the passages, as there is no workroom. On the ground-floor are the gaoler's apartments, etc.

The felons' court is down five steps: it is too small, and has no water: the pump is just on the outside of the palisades. The day-room for men is only twenty-four feet by eight: in it are three cells: in another place nine cells: and three in another. The cells are in general about seven and a half feet by six and a half, and eight and a half high; close and dark; having only either a hole over the door about four inches by eight, or some perforations in the door of about an inch diameter: not any of them to the open air, but into passages or entries. In most of these cells three prisoners are locked up at night; in winter from fourteen to sixteen hours: straw on the stone floors; no bedsteads. There are four condemned rooms about seven feet square. A sewer in one of the passages often makes these parts of the gaol very offensive: and I cannot say they are clean. Indeed a clean prison is scarcely ever seen, where the water has to be brought in by the gaoler's servants. The next house to the castle gate, and others in the neighbourhood, have river water laid on at a moderate expense, and at my last visit it was brought into the castle yard, but not into the felons' court. No bath.

Women felons are kept quite separate: they have two courts, but no water: you go down four steps to their two close rooms, a day- and a night-room. Their condemned room is in another part of the gaol: near it is a room to confine debtors who do not behave well.

## KNARESBOROUGH PRISON, FOR TOWN DEBTORS

Is under the hall. Of difficult access; the door about four feet from the ground. Only one room, about twelve feet square: window seventeen inches by six. Earth floor: no fireplace: very offensive; a common sewer from the town running through it uncovered. I was informed that an officer, confined here some years since, for only a few days, took in with him a dog to defend him from vermin; but the dog was soon destroyed, and the prisoner's face much disfigured by them.

At my last visit the doorway was altered, the floor paved with flagstones and the drain covered.

1776, 26 Oct., 1779, 8 May, and 1782, 20 Nov. No prisoners.

## ROTHWELL PRISON, FOR DEBTORS

In the old prison at Rothwell, I saw both times I was there, one William Carr, a weaver: he had given a bad name to a woman who was said not to deserve a very good one: she cited him to the ecclesiastical court; and he was imprisoned 4 May, 1774. He had a wife and three children. I will transcribe a line or two of the warrant.—"For as much as the royal power ought not to be wanting to the holy church in its complaints ... attach the said W. C.... until he shall have made satisfaction to the holy church as well for the contempt as for the injury by him done unto it." He was discharged 26 July, 1776, by the Insolvent Act; a clause being then inserted for those prisoners.

## HALIFAX PRISON [1]

For the manor of Wakefield, dated 1662, is the property of the Duke of Leeds. For master's-side debtors, four rooms in the keeper's public house. Through this you pass to a court about fourteen yards by seven: at the farther end of which is a sizable room on the ground-floor for common-side debtors,

[1] In this town, formerly the barons (as in many other places), and after them, various proprietors had power of life and death. The method of execution was decollation by an axe in an engine. The axe is preserved in the gaol to this day. Two men in 1650 were the last who suffered by it.

When any felon was here found guilty, the bailiff immediately returned him back to prison for the space of one week or thereabouts, and on every market-day, there being three a week, the felon was set in the public stocks; and either upon his back, if the thing stolen was portable, or if

it is called the low gaol; over it a chamber (the low gaol chamber) where prisoners pay one shilling a week. The whole prison greatly out of repair: it rained in upon the beds: the rooms were clean. Keeper, no salary: he pays the duke £24 a year; and pays window-tax for the gaol.

## DURHAM

### COUNTY GAOL AT DURHAM

The high gaol is the property of the Bishop. By patent from his lordship, Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart., is perpetual sheriff. The court for master's-side debtors is only twenty-four feet by ten: they are permitted sometimes to walk on the leads. They have beds in the upper hall and in several other rooms. Their rooms should be ceiled, that they might be lime-whited, to prevent infectious disorders, and that great nuisance of bugs, of which the debtors complain much here and at other places. Common-side debtors have no court: their free wards, the low gaol, are two damp unhealthy rooms ten feet four inches square, by the gateway: they are never suffered to go out of these, unless to chapel, which is the master's-side debtors' hall; and not always to that: for on a Sunday when I was there, and missed them at chapel, they told me they were not permitted to go thither. No sewers: at more than one of my visits, I learned that the dirt, ashes, etc., had lain there many months. There is a double-barrelled pump, which raises water about seventy feet.

Felons have no court; but they have a day-room and two small rooms for an infirmary. The men are put at night into dungeons: one seven feet square for three prisoners: another, the great hole, sixteen and a half feet by twelve, has only a little window. In this I saw six prisoners (in 1776), most of them transports, chained to the floor. In that situation they had been many

not, then before his face the goods were so placed, that they might be noted by all passengers.

If it was a horse, an ox, or cow, etc., that was taken with the prisoner, it was thither brought along with him to the place of execution, and fastened by a cord to the pin that stayed the block, so that when the time of the execution came (which was known by the jurors holding up one of their hands) the bailiff, or his servant, whipping the beast, the pin was plucked out, and execution done. But if there was no beast in the felon's case, then the bailiff, or his servant, cut the rope. See *Halifax and its Gibbet Law*.

weeks; and were very sickly. Their straw on the stone floor almost worn to dust. Long confinement, and not having the king's allowance of 2s. 6d. a week, had urged them to attempt an escape: after which the gaoler chained them as above. There is another dungeon for women felons twelve feet by eight; and upstairs a separate room or two.

The common-side debtors in the low gaol, whom I saw eating boiled bread and water, told me, that this was the only nourishment some had lived upon for nearly a twelvemonth. They have from a legacy one shilling and sixpence a week in winter, and one shilling a week in summer for coals. No memorandum of it in the gaol; perhaps this may in time be lost, as the gaoler said two others were, viz. one of Bishop Crewe, and another of Bishop Wood; from which, prisoners had received no benefit for some years past. But now the Bishop has humanely filed bills in chancery and recovered these legacies, by which several debtors have been discharged. Half a crown a week is paid to a woman for supplying the debtors with water, in the two rooms on the side of the gateway. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners not hung up. The clauses against spirituous liquors are hung up. Gaol delivery once a year. At several of my visits there were boys between thirteen and fifteen years of age, confined with the most profligate and abandoned.

There was a vacant piece of ground adjacent, of little use but for the gaoler's occasional lumber. It extends to the river, and measures about twenty-two yards by sixteen. I once and again advised the enclosing this for a court: as it might be done with little expense, and it appears that formerly here was a doorway into the prison: but when I was there in January 1776, I had the mortification to hear that the surgeon, who was uncle to the gaoler, had obtained from the Bishop, in October preceding, a lease of it for twenty-one years, at the rent of one shilling per annum. He had built a little stable on it.

## NORTHUMBERLAND

### NEWCASTLE

In this Newgate, which is the gate at the upper end of the town, all the rooms except the condemned room are upstairs, and airy: I always found them remarkably clean, strewed with sand, etc. The corporation allow both debtors and felons

firing and candles in plenty: and every prisoner has a chaff bed, two blankets, and a coverlet: debtors and felons are thus accommodated in few other prisons in England. They also allow brooms, mops, and all such necessaries. The sums generously allowed for those articles, amount to £40 12s. 8d. per annum. This is one of the very few gaols that have what is called in London the rules. Part of two streets near the gaol is in the prison-liberty.

### COUNTY GAOL AT MORPETH

The debtors have six sizable rooms which are out of repair, and a free ward called the middle tower. Some commodious rooms lately built are occupied by the gaoler. Only one court, which is for debtors. Felons are always shut up in the tower. In the women's room I saw (January 1776) two; who, the gaoler said, were cast for transportation; one in September 1773, the other in November 1774: but at my visit in 1779, I found they had been humanely released at the assize.

Of the other two rooms, generally appropriated to men felons, one is a day-room (fourteen feet two inches by six feet nine), the other an offensive dungeon, the window only eighteen inches by nine. In the latter were three transports (1776) who, upon suspicion of intending an escape, were chained to the floor. They had not the king's allowance of 2s. 6d. a week.

Gaol delivery once a year. Assize held at Newcastle, whither prisoners are conveyed; and men and women confined together seven or eight nights in a dirty damp dungeon down six steps in the old castle, which having no roof, in a wet season the water is some inches deep. The felons are chained to rings in the wall.

The county for some years paid the gaoler's fees for acquitted prisoners, if poor: and clothed such transports as were quite indigent.

## CUMBERLAND

### COUNTY GAOL AT CARLISLE

The court spacious, eighty-five yards by thirty-six: it was common to all prisoners; but now a part is appropriated to the felons, and separated by iron palisades. In the court is a chapel, built, as appears by the date, in 1734. Five rooms for master's-side debtors: and as many on the common-side.

Four of these are twenty-three feet by eighteen and a half. They have windows now opening into the court, as well as the street. Where there are so many rooms, not to separate the men and women is certainly inexcusable.

The wards for felons are two rooms down a step or two; dark and dirty. One of them, the day-room, had a window to the street; through which spirituous liquors and tools for mischief might be easily conveyed: but it is now bricked up. The night-room is only eleven feet by nine: at one of my visits, men and women were lodged together in it. Two rooms over the felons' wards, which have been used as tap-rooms, seem to be intended for the women only, but in one of these I also found three men and four women lodged together. In the court, near the pump, there is the too common nuisance of a dunghill, which seems to have been accumulating for a year or two. Transports had not the king's allowance of 2s. 6d. a week. No infirmary: no bath. Act for preserving the health of prisoners not hung up. Prison not whitewashed for three years. Gaol delivery once a year. Few gaols have so many convenient rooms for common-side debtors. It is the more remarkable here, because there is no table signed by the magistrates to particularise the free wards. Some gaolers avail themselves of such a circumstance, and demand rent for rooms which were undoubtedly designed for common-side prisoners.

The gaol-fever, which some years ago carried off many of the prisoners, did not deter Mr. Farish from visiting the sick every day.

"1788, 2 Jan., Debtors 32.[1] Felons, etc., 20. Deserters 2."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, p. 200.]

[1] "Here was a prisoner, lately the widow of an old gentleman, who left her an estate of £300 per annum and about £7000 in mortgages. She was afterwards married in Scotland to a Mr. Milbourne of this city, who soon spent £4000, but upon some disagreement she refused to give up the mortgages of the other £3000. By an attachment from the Court of Chancery, her husband sent her to the common gaol, which confinement prevented her compliance with an order for appearance at that court in fifteen days of St. Hilary's term next ensuing. At first she was on the master's side; but the late gaoler, after cruelly seizing her clothes, etc., for chamber-rent, turned her to the common side. Her room (nine feet and a half by eight and a half) has no fire-place. She, not having the county allowance, supports herself by spinning and knitting, and the occasional kindness of her late husband's relations, while her present husband is living and rioting on her estate.

"By a letter dated 14 October, 1788, from a respectable gentleman at Carlisle, I am informed that Mrs. Milbourne is still in the gaol, and that for above two years, Mr. Milbourne did not give her one farthing, her subsistence being wholly on occasional charities, and the small earnings

# LANCASHIRE

## COUNTY GAOL, LANCASTER CASTLE

The castle yard is spacious, and is supplied with water. Part of it is an enclosed bowling-green. Master's-side debtors have many apartments. One of them which they call the oven, is said to have been used as such in the time of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: the diameter, twenty-four feet; the height, that of an ordinary room. Debtors are allowed to walk and work (spin, knit, etc.) in the crown and shire halls. The latter is used as a chapel.[1]

One of the rooms for debtors (sixty feet by twenty-seven) is a free ward, and called the Quakers' room; because, it is said, when those people were so cruelly persecuted in the last century, vast numbers of them were confined in it.

Petty offenders are sometimes sent hither, because the bridewells are distant. There is a large room for them near the gate; and they are kept separate from felons.

Men and women felons have their day-rooms apart, at the upper end of the court. Women sleep in their day-room: but the court being common, the men associate with them. Men have for their night-rooms two vaulted cells. One of them, the low dungeon, is ten steps underground,[2] twenty-one feet by nine, extremely close, dark, and unwholesome; very hot even in winter. Their other cell, the high dungeon (twenty feet two inches by eleven feet two), is close and offensive, though not underground; and has an iron-latticed door.

In one of these dungeons, there were three felons sick: the recorder, Mr. Fenton, gave immediate orders for their relief by better nourishment, etc., and they soon recovered. No infirmary: no bath. Transports had not the king's allowance

of spinning, at which employment she could not get more than fourpence, but now by practice and extremely close application (when health permits) can earn tenpence a week. In March last her husband sent her twenty shillings, and in October 1788 (twenty-seven weeks after) the same sum. The justices last quarter sessions commiserating her hardships, have allowed her the county bounty; the first shilling of which, this modest poor woman received, 11 October, 1788."

[1] Over the judge's bench in the shirehall is this text: "Let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."

[2] The gaoler's wine cellar is down twenty steps, and has evidently been used for the confinement of prisoners. The different purpose to which it is now applied is the only instance I know of the benefit of taps in gaols.

of 2s. 6d. a week. When prisoners are convicted at Preston or Manchester, and from thence brought hither, the gaoler has a shilling a mile conduct-money for each.

If the large stable which is not much used, and the great room under the shirehall (in which there was only one poor lunatic; who had been there many years, and is since dead) were converted into night-rooms for felons, one small room for each; the court divided, and an infirmary were built, this would be a good gaol. From Mr. Fenton's humanity, and the regard that is justly paid him, I cannot but hope for some of these improvements.

These remarks were made in 1776: at my visit in 1779, I had the pleasure to find six cells made in the upper stable, ten feet by six feet eight inches, each having an aperture about two feet by one and a half; and two good rooms fitted up for an infirmary in the dungeon tower. One of the six cells is appropriated to drunken and riotous debtors, over which this inscription is painted on a board, "This room is for unruly misbehaved debtors, to be confined in, until they promise to behave well."

At my last visit there were three new cells (ten feet by six and a half), two doors in each, one of which was iron-latticed. Here was also a separate closet for women, which is generally wanted in gaols. This gaol is regularly whitewashed, and kept very clean. The Act for preserving the health of prisoners, and the clauses against spirituous liquors, hung up very conspicuously. The gaoler lives distant.

The chaplain's salary, £50, is from the county; and from the Duchy £4.

Much good, I hope, may be expected from the exertions now making by the gentlemen of this county, for the further improvement of their prisons.

## COUNTY BRIDEWELL

MANCHESTER. Rebuilt as per date, in the year 1774. Separate courts and apartments for men and women. Two rooms for an infirmary (fourteen feet by eleven feet eight inches). The men have workrooms, over which are chambers. Their four night-rooms or cells in a passage forty-five feet by six, are close; eleven feet by eight; eleven steps below the court; but not

properly underground, being on the declivity of a hill. Women have three rooms on the ground-floor, and three chambers: here is a dungeon, down nine steps, fourteen feet by thirteen; an inconvenient bath, no water in it. The iron-grate door into each court has a lock and fastenings of a contrivance singularly curious. No allowance. Keeper's salary was raised from £25 to £60, in lieu of fees, and is now raised to £80 in lieu of the tap.

The Act for preserving the health of prisoners, and the clauses against spirituous liquors, hung up. The keeper is a chandler, and employs some of the prisoners in spinning candlewick at three-halfpence a pound. In the front of the prison is a stone with an aperture into a box, having this inscription: "Sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not."—Matt. xxv, 43.

"By the spirited exertions of Mr. Bayley, and other magistrates, a new prison is building on a large scale, from Mr. Blackburn's plan, in which there will be single cells, and separate apartments for faulty apprentices, etc. This prison will reflect much credit on the good sense and liberality of the hundred of Salford, in this county, which alone defrays all the costs of the building. 1787, 27 Dec., prisoners 53."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, p. 206.]

## LIVERPOOL BOROUGH GAOL

Seven close dungeons in a passage eleven feet wide, ten steps underground; each six and a half feet by five feet nine inches, and six feet high. Apertures in the doors eleven inches by six. Three prisoners are commonly locked up in each of them at night. There is another dungeon, larger, but not secure. Only one day-room for criminals of both sexes. No infirmary. The keeper told me in November 1775, that after I was there last year and said his prisoners were in danger of the gaol-fever, twenty-eight of them had been ill of it at one time. What led me to think so was, the offensiveness of the dungeons, and the number of prisoners. The prison is surrounded with other buildings, and cannot be made healthy and convenient. Allowance in common on Sunday, bread 4s., beef and broth about 6s. Firing from October to May. Gaoler, Rosendale Allen, sergeant at mace, paid the widow of the late gaoler, £20 a year; and put in a deputy who paid him £65 a year.

"No alteration in the old gaol. Allowance, to debtors, 3d. felons, 2d. and convicts, 4d. a day. Gaoler's salary augmented to £120 in lieu of the tap. The sick are supplied with medicines from the infirmary.

"The corporation have spared no expense for the new gaol which Mr. Blackburn is employed in building: there will be a proper separation of the different classes and sexes; and with a view to security, health, reformation, and convenience, I apprehend, it will be one of the first borough gaols in the kingdom.

"1787. 22 Dec., Debtors 18. Felons, etc., 22."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, p. 206.]

## LIVERPOOL BRIDEWELL

This prison was built in 1776, on an eminence adjoining the workhouse near the town. The men and women have separate rooms, courts, etc. The women have six rooms below, and the same number above: the men have four rooms below, and four above. These are twelve feet by ten, and eight feet nine inches high; are furnished with bedsteads, blankets, and coverlets; but are too close, having no window, only an aperture in the door about nine inches square, and another near the ceiling. They have a workroom, twenty feet by sixteen feet nine inches. Near this room in the men's court is a pump, to which the women are tied every week and receive discipline. In this court is also a bath, with a new and singular contrivance. At one end of it was a standard for a long pole, at the extremity of which was fastened a chair. In this all the females (not the males) at their entrance, after a few questions, were placed, with a flannel shift on, and underwent a thorough ducking, thrice repeated—a use of a bath, which I dare say the legislature never thought of, when in their late Act they ordered baths with a view to cleanliness and preserving the health of prisoners; not for the exercise of a wanton and dangerous kind of severity. But I was glad to find this use of the bath has been discontinued since my visit in 1779. The severe weekly discipline of the women in the men's court is still continued.

"No alteration. The keeper's apartments having no view into either of the courts, may be one reason that both sexes were locked up. All the men were in heavy irons, and seven

out of eight women were chained to the floors, and in bed at noon on Sunday, having had no fire for several days.[1] The next day, two being thus chained, at my desire, they were released and set to picking oakum.[2]"

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, p. 206.]

[1] "All the bedding was on the floors; for the bedsteads were laid in the upper rooms, because some of the prisoners had made a sort of ladder with them to get through the floor above, in order to facilitate an escape. But bedsteads and bedding are necessary for the health of prisoners; and escapes would be prevented by confinement in separate cells. In some of the cells solid stone or brick might be worked into the walls, about eighteen inches from the floor, and cased with oak planks raised at the head, on which the bedding might be laid, as I have seen in some foreign prisons.

[2] "In Chester City gaol, Liverpool bridewell, and other prisons, I told the keepers that steady, lenient, and persuasive methods with prisoners are the best means to prevent them from breaking out; for their minds being uneasy, and their bodies harassed, they are often driven to desperate attempts, which sometimes will be successful: and I mentioned the good effects of such measures at Oxford Castle. Some of the keepers said, 'they now find, they can do more with their prisoners by lenient measures, than with a rough hand.'"

# CHESTER CIRCUIT

## CHESHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL, CHESTER CASTLE

This castle is the property of the king. The first room is a hall: there are two staircases leading up from it to four rooms for master's-side debtors. Down eighteen steps is a small court, which was common to debtors and felons. It is lately divided, but the high close pales which separate the two courts, now so very small, deprive both debtors and felons of the benefit of fresh air, and the keeper has no view of the felons' court or day-room, in which men and women are together: the debtors, in the pope's kitchen (improperly called their free ward, as they pay one shilling a week each); the felons, in their day-room, the king's kitchen. Both these are six steps below the court: each of them about thirty-five feet by twenty-two. Near the former is the condemned room. Under the king's kitchen is the king's cellar; quite useless. Under the pope's kitchen is a dark passage twenty-four feet by nine: the descent to it, is by twenty-one steps from the court. No window: not a breath of fresh air: only two apertures (lately made) with grates in the ceiling into the pope's kitchen above. On one side of it are six cells (stalls) each about seven and a half feet by three, with a barrack-bedstead, and an aperture over the door about eight inches by four. In each of these are locked up at night, sometimes three or four felons. They pitch these dungeons two or three times a year: when I was in one of them, I ordered the door to be shut; and my situation brought to mind what I had heard of the Black Hole at Calcutta.

The felons' day-room is not secure. They escaped in 1775, by breaking through the slight floor into the king's cellar below; and through the decayed walls of that they made their way down the hill. The keeper, who is careful and humane, was not blameable.

The present constable is Mr. Ferdinando Gillio, a surgeon in London. He obliges the gaoler to pay rent £30 a year, and

takes himself the salary of £18 5s. od., the gaoler paying the tax of £2 13s. od. thereon. I need hardly mention the impropriety of one receiving the salary, and another doing the duty.[1]

## CHESTER CITY BRIDEWELL

In the keeper's house there is a room or two for those that can pay for a bed; and there is now built a workshop and a room over it twenty-five feet by sixteen and a half. The employment is spinning. Down ten steps are two new dungeons. No water: no alllowance: clauses against spirituous liquors not hung up. Keeper's salary, £4 4s. od.

Here were several leaden weights marked 30, 40, 60 pounds, with a ring and chains to each: these are fastened, as the magistrates order, or the keeper finds needful, to the legs of refractory prisoners, so that they cannot walk without carrying the weight. The keeper said that it was extremely difficult to make prisoners behave orderly, while they were kept together.

[1] I have in three of my visits seen the place of confinement for deserters in this castle, who are not under the care of the gaoler, but of the invalids of the garrison. It is a bad, unhealthy cell, often productive of the gaol-fever; a room should be appropriated to the sick, for the surgeon told me he could not attend them there. An officer at Worcester informed me, that having sent a sergeant and two men for two deserters lodged here, three of them died a few days after they came to their quarters, and he had them buried privately, without military honours, to the surprise of the soldiers, who knew not the reason.

# NORTH WALES CIRCUIT

## CARNARVONSHIRE

### COUNTY GAOL AT CARNARVON

*Gaoler.* Thomas Prichard.
Salary: none.
Fees: Debtors, £0 3*s.* 6*d.* entrance.
£0 2*s.* 6*d.* discharge.
Felons, £0 13*s.* 4*d.*
Transports: the expense.
Licence: Beer.

*Prisoners.*
Allowance: Debtors, none.
Felons, 2*s.* 4*d.* a week each. (*See* remarks.)
Garnish: a shilling.
Number:

| | Debtors | Felons, etc. | | Debtors | Felons, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1774. 27 June | 2 | 1 | 1782. 21 June | 7 | 0 |
| 1779. 24 July | 5 | 1 | 1782. 24 Sept. | 3 | 0 |

*Chaplain.* None.
*Surgeon.* None.

This gaol, which is also the bridewell, was formerly a chapel, and is in a ruinous condition. Two rooms for debtors, and two for felons: one of the latter down eleven steps, with an aperture eighteen inches by three; the other under the stairs only nine feet by seven, with no window: all of them very dirty, and never whitewashed. Joining to the gaol is a large room, formerly a house of correction, but lately used by strolling players. A court, but no sewer: no water. Neither clauses against spirituous liquors, nor the Act for preserving the health of prisoners, are hung up. Great session in Lent at Conway. The gaoler has £5 a year as keeper of bridewell. He stops from each felon's allowance sixpence a week for (what he calls) his trouble of weekly payments. No table of fees.

Among the various improvements that are making in this town, may it not be hoped, that the county magistrates will think of a better prison.

# SOUTH WALES CIRCUIT

## GLAMORGANSHIRE

### SWANSEY TOWN GAOL

"The debtors' room is very close, and has only one window, which is partly stopped by a shed built against the wall. The room for felons (called the Black Hole) has an aperture in the door, but no window: yet at the Michaelmas quarter sessions, prisoners of both sexes are here confined for some days. In 1787 there were two men and two women confined in it from Monday till Friday. Similar to this is the prison at Neath where one of the quarter sessions is held.[1]

"In my various journeys in England and Wales, I have seen many houses defaced on account of the odious tax on windows; and I cannot help repeating my concern for its pernicious effects. I am persuaded it has a very bad influence on the health of the lower classes of people; and this may be one reason of their not having now such healthy, ruddy complexions as they had formerly. The farmers' servants having been crowded into unventilated rooms or holes, and our labouring poor having been habituated to close habitations, they dislike, when they come into workhouses or hospitals, the admission of fresh air."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, p. 215.]

[1] "Before I quit this subject, I would just mention, that in all my visits to the gaols and prisons, in this, and other kingdoms, I never received any insults either from keepers or prisoners; nor have I lost anything in any of them, except that in one of our prisons I once lost a large new handkerchief out of my pocket, which I did not miss for some time, but on a subsequent visit, about ten months after, it was immediately presented to me by a prisoner; as, he said, he believed I had dropped it when I was there last."

## QUARANTINE IN VENICE

"After visiting the lazarettos now described, I sailed to Smyrna, and from thence to Constantinople. Here I had once intended to travel by land to Vienna. This is a journey capable of being easily performed in twenty-four days, no quarantine being now required to be performed at Semlin, the place on the confines of the Emperor's Hungarian dominions, where formerly travellers used to be detained for this purpose. But on further consideration I determined to seek an opportunity of performing quarantine myself; and with this view to submit to the inconveniences of a sea-voyage to Venice, the place where lazarettos were first established. And, in order to obtain the best information by performing the strictest quarantine, I further determined to return to Smyrna, and there to take my passage in a ship with a foul bill. Contrary winds and other causes made this a tedious and dangerous voyage, and it was sixty days from the time of leaving Smyrna before I arrived at Venice.

"VENICE. Here, after our ship had been conducted by a pilot-boat to her proper moorings, a messenger came from the health-office for the captain; and I went with him in his boat to see the manner in which his report was made, his letters delivered, and his examination conducted. The following morning a messenger came in a gondola to conduct me to the new lazaretto. I was placed, with my baggage, in a boat fastened by a cord ten feet long to another boat in which were six rowers. When I came near the landing-place, the cord was loosed, and my boat was pushed with a pole to the shore, where a person met me, who said he had been ordered by the magistrates to be my guard. Soon after unloading the boat, the sub-prior came and showed me my lodging, which was a very dirty room, full of vermin, and without table, chair, or bed. That day and the next morning I employed a person to wash my room: but this did not remove the offensiveness of it, or prevent that constant headache which I had been used to feel in visiting other lazarettos, and some of the hospitals in Turkey. This lazaretto is chiefly assigned to Turks and soldiers, and the crews of those ships which have the plague on board. In one

of the enclosures was the crew of a Ragusian ship, which had arrived a few days before me, after being driven from Ancona and Trieste. My guard sent a report of my health to the office, and on the representation of our consul, I was conducted to the old lazaretto which is nearer the city. Having brought a letter to the prior from the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople, I hoped now to have had a comfortable lodging. But I was not so happy. The apartment appointed me (consisting of an upper and a lower room) was no less disagreeable and offensive than the former. I preferred lying in the lower room on a brick floor where I was almost surrounded with water. After six days, however, the prior removed me to an apartment in some respects better, and consisting of four rooms. Here I had a pleasant view; but the rooms were without furniture, very dirty, and no less offensive than the sick wards of the worst hospital. The walls of my chamber, not having been cleaned probably for half a century, were saturated with infection. I got them washed repeatedly with boiling water, to remove the offensive smell, but without any effect. My appetite failed, and I concluded I was in danger of the slow hospital-fever. I proposed white-washing my room with lime slaked in boiling water, but was opposed by strong prejudices. I got, however, this done one morning through the assistance of the British consul, who was so good as to supply me with a quarter of a bushel of fresh lime for the purpose. And the consequence was, that my room was immediately rendered so sweet and fresh, that I was able to drink tea in it in the afternoon, and to lie in it the following night.[1] On the next day the walls were dry as well as sweet, and in a few days I recovered my appetite. Thus, at a small expense, and to the admiration of the other inhabitants of this lazaretto, I provided for myself and successors, an agreeable and wholesome room, instead of a nasty and contagious one.

"Over the gateways of two large rooms or warehouses, were carved in stone the images of three saints (San Sebastiano, San Marco, and San Rocco), reckoned the patrons of this lazaretto. Formerly, when persons who had the plague were brought from the city, they were put into one of these rooms

[1] "This room was lime-whited in November, and in a very rainy season. This I mention, because in the following March on complaining to the under-sheriffs in Newgate of their inattention to the clause which orders this in the Act of Parliament for securing the health of prisoners, their excuse was, that they were afraid of dampness, which seemed to me as reasonable as it would be not to allow towels for those whose feet, hands, and face are dirty, lest by washing them they should catch cold.

for forty days, and afterwards into the other for the same time, before they were discharged.

"The Venetians were formerly one of the first commercial nations in Europe, and the regulations for performing quarantine in their lazarettos are wise and good; but now, in almost every department into which I had opportunity to look, there is such remissness and corruption in executing these regulations, as to render the quarantine almost useless, and little more than an establishment for providing for officers and infirm people.

"MODON. In coming from Smyrna in a Venetian ship with a foul bill, we first anchored at Modon in the Morea, for water. Here a Turkish officer came on board, and attended us till we were out of the port, to see that this alone was our object.[1]"

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 10, 11, 12, 22.]

I know not how to close this account of prisons without making the following observation. In all my journeys, by night and day, through all the different counties of England (for ten years past) I have never once been stopped, or even known myself in any great danger from robbers. I mention this (with a devout acknowledgment of a KIND PROVIDENCE!) because foreigners in this country generally travel in terror, and often give dismal accounts of the dangers they have encountered.

## REMARKS ON CHARTER SCHOOLS (IRELAND)

"To the remarks I have already made on the Charter Schools which I visited, it will not be improper to add the following hints for their improvement.

"In the diet table the quantity and quality should be fixed for every day in the week. The master and mistress should attend the children at their meals, and dine within half an hour of their time, that the business of the house be not interrupted, and late hours introduced among the children. The regulations

[1] "A few days after leaving Modon, we had a smart skirmish with a Tunisian privateer. In this skirmish one of our cannon, charged with spike-nails, etc., having accidentally done great execution, the privateer immediately, to our great joy, hoisted its sails and made off. This interposition of Providence saved us from a dreadful fate; for I understood afterwards that our captain, expecting that either our immediate death, or perpetual slavery at Tunis would be the consequence of being taken, had determined to blow up the ship rather than surrender."

for masters, children, and servants, should be printed on a board and hung up; and the bell rung at the times of rising, prayers, meals, etc.

"To every fifteen children there should be one maidservant; and in large schools, there should be a cook, who ought also to manage the dairy. The whole of Saturday should be appropriated to cleanliness. There should be a larger allowance for soap, starch, candles and fuel; and proper utensils for cleaning the rooms. The children's linen constantly changed twice a week. A crib bedstead for every two children at most, and single beds for the sick children. In the master's or mistress' bedroom a window to look into the children's dormitory. An infirmary in every house, with beds and proper bedding kept neat. Every house once a year to be lime-whited, that is, washed with boiling water in which fresh limestone has been slaked.[1] The sashes of the windows both upper and under should be movable. A dairy and pantry in every house: a pump is necessary: a convenient bath: a proper vault with separations: the master to keep only one dog: no pigs nor fowls ever to enter the house. The master and mistress to accompany the children to and from church, and sit with them there. The

[1] "I have often mentioned the want of lime-whiting in the prisons, hospitals, and schools in this country, when they appeared to me very dirty; as it is attended with little expense, is exceedingly salutary, and tends to inspire young persons in particular with a love of cleanliness. Of this last circumstance, I am convinced from experience in somewhat similar instances; as I have repeatedly observed, that when I have pulled down old cottages that had clay floors, and no pantry, no pump, no outhouse for fuel, nor any vault, and have built new ones with these conveniences, which have also been whitewashed both within and without; the very same families that were before slovenly and dirty have, upon this change of their habitations, become clean and neat in their persons, in their houses, and gardens. It was in consequence of these observations, made during my residence on my estate in Bedfordshire,[2] that the clause for whitewashing gaols was inserted in the Act for preserving the health of prisoners. In addition to what has been said with regard to cleanliness, it may be observed, that when quicklime is slaked in boiling water, and immediately used, it not only destroys vermin, but is found to be one of the strongest antiseptics. In confirmation of this fact, I shall take the liberty of mentioning a remarkable instance of its efficacy in this respect. Dr. John Hope, the first physician to the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, informed me in one of my visits there, that two or three years before, a putrid fever had prevailed in that hospital, and that one large ward in particular was so deeply infected as to prove fatal, for some time, to the patients that were lodged in it; but that lime-whiting the walls had eradicated the infection, after washing the ward repeatedly with vinegar had failed of this effect; and that this salutary practice had been continued ever since.

[2] Howard erected something like a model village on his estate at Cardington. Many of the cottages he built are still standing.—[Ed.]

time for the children's work not to exceed four hours a day, and the masters and mistresses not to be charged for it. Large and neat gardens for a supply of vegetables, instruction and work for the boys. The girls to be employed in spinning and knitting, in making and mending their linen, and in assisting in all kinds of household work. Masters and mistresses to be prohibited from selling milk, butter, and cheese.

"As the society's lands are out of condition, every master's expense in improving them with lime, marle, etc. should be fully reimbursed by the local committee, in case of his dismissal or death.

"The Protestant gentlemen, within ten miles of a school, should be earnestly requested to be of the local committee, and to make frequent visits to it. The ladies within the same distance should also be desired to favour the schools with their visits; and both should make their remarks in a book kept for that purpose.

"The local committee should be permitted to give stipulated premiums to the most cleanly, orderly, and diligent children, and those who make the best improvement. This to be done with a proper degree of applause, addressing them in such a manner as may tend to excite their emulation, and this before persons whom the children most respect; and the names of those children who obtained the premiums should be written in the visitors' book, and sent to the committee of fifteen in Dublin.

"The committee of fifteen should pay the greatest attention to the remarks of a respectable local committee.

"Some of these remarks were made in my former publication, but being more fully convinced of their importance, they are now repeated. The alterations proposed may be thought too expensive; but I am persuaded that the penuriousness of the society in providing diet, clothing, etc., which has been long observed by those who visit the children, or see them at church, has considerably reduced the subscriptions: and these improvements would probably recover and increase them. They would at least retrieve the credit of the society, and do honour to the Protestant cause.

"I cannot forbear here expressing a wish that the benefits of education were more generally extended over Ireland, than they are by these schools. If free schools were instituted in every parish for instructing in the lower parts of learning, and the principles of morality, children of each sex, and of all

persuasions; it would perhaps, more than anything, tend to soften the manners of the Irish poor, and enable their youth to resist the various temptations to vice, to which they are inevitably exposed in their crowded huts and cabins.

"The lower class of people in Ireland are by no means averse to the improvement of their children. At the cabins on the roadside I saw several schools, in which, for the payment of 3s. 3d. Irish per quarter, children were instructed in reading, writing and accounts. Some of these I examined as to their proficiency, and found them much forwarder than those of the same age in the charter schools. They were clean and wholesome, and consisted of the children of both Protestant and Catholic parents. I hope I shall not be thought, as a Protestant dissenter, indifferent to the Protestant cause, when I express my wish, that these distinctions were less regarded in bestowing the advantages of education; and that the increase of Protestantism were chiefly trusted to the dissemination of knowledge and sound morals.

"In Scotland, almost every village has its settled schoolmaster; the beneficial effects of which are evident: for it is principally owing to this, that the numerous emigrants from that country, dispersed over almost all Europe, appear with credit, and advance themselves in their several stations. The Sunday schools lately established by the benevolence of the public, in so many parts of England, will doubtless in some degree produce similar good effects; if the benefactors abate not of their zeal and attention. But no plan that I have seen for the extended instruction of the poor seems more judiciously calculated for the purpose, than one lately instituted by the trustees of the Bluecoat Hospital, in the city of Chester, where, to the ancient establishment of a hospital for poor children, a charity for the education of a large number of out-scholars has been annexed, and has been productive of the happiest effects. I will therefore here transcribe the following particular account of it.

"'Of late years, the whole income of this charity has been expended in the maintenance and education of thirty boys, whom we now call in-scholars. The annual expense of each in-scholar has been about £13, and the education of each boy for four years has cost £52. Such large charitable benefactions being bestowed on a few, a much larger number of boys, equally destitute, have been suffered to grow up to men unemployed and uninstructed.

"'In 1781, when the income of the hospital was augmented, it was proposed to educate sixty more boys, as out-scholars, to be

taught reading, writing, and some arithmetic; but not to be clothed, maintained, or lodged in the house. This proposal was not accomplished till the autumn of 1783. The improvement of the sixty new scholars in reading, writing, and behaviour, was so remarkable, and so pleasing, that, in December 1784 a proposal was made to double the number, which was unanimously approved by a full and respectable meeting of the trustees. Two masters now teach one hundred and twenty out-scholars. The salary of the first master is £40, and of the second £25, a year. Hence the expense of each out-scholar is 10s. 10d. a year to the master. The annual expense of each boy in books is 1s. 3½d. and in coals 4½d. A green cap, which costs 1s. 6d. is given to each scholar every year. Hence it appears that the whole annual expense of each out-scholar is 14s. Consequently, more money is bestowed on one in-scholar, than would educate eighteen out-scholars.

"'A good education is now given to thirty in-scholars, and one hundred and twenty out-scholars, which comprehended above one third of all the boys in Chester. The boys are appointed scholars about nine years old, in order to have their instruction completed about the age of going apprentice. When the out-scholars are of two years standing, fifteen of the best are annually elected in-scholars, for two years; and the boys not thus elected remain two years longer in the out-school.

"'It is an interesting truth, which deserves public attention, that two masters can teach one hundred and twenty scholars. At the examination of last April, all the boys who had been two years in the school, though several did not know a letter on their admission, could read and write very well, understood some arithmetic, and had very perfectly learned their Catechism.'

"Having in many of the schools I have visited observed, among other irregularities, the rudeness of the boys, and being persuaded that no instruction is given them relative to a decent and becoming deportment, perhaps hints may be taken for their improvement in this respect from some of the rules of the excellent institution of the Quakers, at Ackworth in Yorkshire, for the education of children of their persuasion, which I here copy.

## INSTRUCTIONS TO SCHOOL-MASTERS

"'That the schools, during the summer season, open at half after six o'clock in the morning, and in the winter at half after seven o'clock, and that they close at eight; that after breakfast they open at nine and close at twelve; that after dinner they open at two and close at five. These times to be observed as near as conveniently may be.

"'That they observe that the children come into the schools, when the bell rings, in a quiet and becoming manner, with their faces and hands clean, hair combed, and take their seats at the time appointed.

"'That the boys be instructed in spelling, reading, and English grammar; that after dinner, the boys who attended the writing masters, shall attend the reading masters; and the lads who attended the reading masters, shall attend the writing masters.

"'In order that punishments may be inflicted with coolness and temper, and in proportion to the nature of the offence, the following method is agreed upon, viz. That the treasurer and each master keep a book, and minute down offences committed within the day; that once a week, or oftener, they meet together and inspect these books, and administer such punishments as may be agreed upon, using their endeavours to convince the children that the only purpose of correction is for their amendment, and to deter others from the commission of the like offence.

"'That they sit down with the children and family on first day (Sunday) evening, reading to them, or causing them to read suitable portions of the Holy Scriptures, and other religious books, the treasurer and principal master selecting such parts and subjects as are most instructive, and best adapted to their understandings.

"'That they in particular endeavour, by Divine assistance, to impress upon the minds of the children the necessity of a strict adherence to truth, and abhorrence to falsehood; as well as a remembrance of their Creator in the days of their youth; having the fear of the Lord before their eyes, which will preserve under the various temptations to which they are incident, and lead to the enjoyment of real happiness, by keeping a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.

GENERAL RULES to be strictly observed by all the Boys at ACKWORTH SCHOOL, and to be read to them once a month

"'That they rise at six o'clock in the morning in the summer, and at seven o'clock in the winter, and dress themselves quietly and orderly, endeavouring to begin the day in the fear of the Lord, which is as a fountain of life preserving from the snares of death.

"'That they wash their faces and hands, and at the ringing of the bell, collect themselves in order, and come decently into the schools; that they take their seats in a becoming manner, without noise or hurry, and begin business when the master shall direct.

"That they refrain from talking and whispering in the school; and, when repeating their lessons to the master, that they speak audibly and distinctly.

"'That they should not be absent from school, nor go out of bounds without leave.

"'That when the bell rings for breakfast, dinner or supper, they collect themselves together in silence, and in due order, having their faces and hands washed, their hair combed, etc., and so proceed quietly into the dining room: and eat their food decently.

"'That they avoid quarrelling, throwing sticks, stones, and dirt, striking or teasing one another; and they are enjoined to complain not of trifles; and when at play to observe moderation and decency.

"'That they neither borrow, lend, buy, nor exchange without leave, and that they strictly avoid gaming of all kinds; that they

never tell a lie, use the sacred name irreverently, nor mock the aged or deformed.

"'That when a stranger speaks to them they give a modest, audible answer, standing up, and with their faces turned towards him.

"'That they observe a sober and becoming behaviour when going to, coming from, and in religious meetings.

"'That their whole conduct and conversation be dutiful to their masters, and kind and affectionate to their schoolfellows, and that in all cases they observe the command of Christ, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

"'That in the evening they collect themselves and take their seats in the dining-room, and after answering to their names when called over, and attending to such parts of the Holy Scriptures and other religious books, which may be read to them, they retire to their bedchambers, and undress with as much stillness as possible, folding up their clothes neatly, and putting them in their proper places; and they are tenderly advised to close, as well as to begin the day, with the remembrance of their gracious Creator, whose mercies are over all His works.'"

"The instructions to schoolmistresses; being similar to those for schoolmasters; and the general rules being nearly the same for girls, I omit copying them.

"I cannot better conclude this subject than in the words of my learned, much respected and honoured friend Dr. Price. 'Seminaries of learning are the springs of society, which, as they flow foul or pure, diffuse through successive generations depravity and misery, or on the contrary, virtue and happiness. On the bent given to our minds as they open and expand, depends their subsequent fate; and on the general management of education depend the honour and dignity of our species.'"

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 118–124.]

## HULKS ON THE THAMES

In my first edition (p. 75), I passed some censures on the management of convicts committed to hard labour on the Thames; and in a subsequent visit I was still more convinced of the faults I had observed. The effects of these became so alarming, as to attract the notice of Parliament. A public inquiry was instituted, by which it appeared, that from August 1776, when the convicts were first put on board the *Justitia*, to 26 March, 1778, out of six hundred and thirty-two prisoners who had

been received, one hundred and seventy-six had died. It is with pleasure that I can give an account, which will show in a striking light the beneficial effects of this parliamentary inquiry as to the health of the prisoners, and the obligations the public were under to the committee appointed on this occasion, and particularly to its chairman, Sir Charles Bunbury.

At my visit, 16 November, 1779, there were at Woolwich, for the reception of convicts, an old Indiaman, called the *Justitia*; and a frigate, the *Censor*. In the former were two hundred and fifty-six; and in the latter, two hundred and fifty. That which was first called the *Justitia*, is converted into a hospital ship, in which were twenty patients. Another, called the *Reception*, was empty: in this, convicts were examined by the surgeon, and continued three days, before they were sent either to the hulks, or to the hospital ship.

The prisoners on board the *Justitia* looked healthy and well; the decks were clean. They had bedding; their provisions were good of the sort; and there were not any (as at my former visits) without shoes and stockings. I found the *Censor*, below deck, cleaner than the *Justitia*; yet, on carefully viewing the convicts, they had not so healthy and contented an aspect as those in the other; and a much greater proportion of this ship's company was sent to the hospital. This created in me a suspicion that something was wrong. I examined all their provisions, bedding, etc., and found that they were the same as on board the *Justitia*. It would be highly proper that a table of their stated allowance should be hung up, and scales, weights, and measures assigned them, to check the pursers who give out their provision. In the hospital ship, on the two decks (one of which is for recovering patients) were twenty-five cradles, but smaller than those in the Royal Hospitals at Haslar and Plymouth, where all lie single. Of the few who were very sick, I found their irons were off. The cleanliness and quietness of the hospital did honour to the conductor. It is to be wished that the patients had better nourishment, as that in many cases would be more salutary than medical prescriptions.

There were about one hundred and fifty at work in the warren in 1779; most of them clothed in a brown uniform. I observed that the situation of these unhappy people was altered for the better. Yet their bread allowance of one pound a day was too little, especially for those who worked, although they had an extra allowance of beer.

"At both my visits, the hulks were clean, the bread good, the

prisoners healthy, and many were at work. The hospital ship was cleaner and quieter than most of our county hospitals. Several convicts were lately come from the county gaols, and the captain justly observed, how different the health and complexion of such prisoners are now, from what they were when I first visited the hulks. But I must repeat my complaint, that such an assemblage is entirely destructive to the morals of young convicts: the profaneness of the prisoners is not properly checked; and some of the guards set them a bad example.

"26 March, 1787, the number of convicts was five hundred and forty-nine, of whom the *Justitia* had two hundred and forty-six, the *Censor* two hundred and twenty-nine, and the *Ceres* seventy-four. Of these thirty-six were in the hospital ship, eleven from the *Justitia*, twelve from the *Censor*, and thirteen from the *Ceres*.

"16 July, 1788, the number was seven hundred and forty-one. The *Justitia* had two hundred and sixty-five, the *Censor* two hundred and forty-eight, and the *Stanislaus* two hundred and twenty-eight.

"From the *Justitia* ninety, and from the *Stanislaus* one hundred and thirty-two, were at work on the shore, and in the ballast lighters.

"In the hospital ship were thirty-two; from the *Justitia* twelve, from the *Censor* twelve, and from the *Stanislaus* eight.

## THE HULK AT PLYMOUTH

"10 November, 1787, the convicts at Plymouth dock were on board the hulk of the *Chatham*, a seventy-gun ship, and were healthy and well; but the *Dunkirk*, which is more commodious, was repairing for them. Their bread, beef, and beer were good; but the bread allowance of 4lb. a day to six men, is not sufficient. There were among them many fine young fellows, who all lived in total idleness, though some useful employment might here easily be found. There were ninety-two men and one woman: nine more convicts were coming on board from the gaol at Glamorgan.

"28 June, 1788, there were three hundred and sixty-six convicts in the *Dunkirk*, which was fitted up with several separate rooms. In one of the rooms, fifty-seven feet by eighteen, and six feet high, there were sixty-eight. Such a room, at night,

when the hatches are down, must be very offensive. At one end, there is a room called the infirmary, and a recovery ward; in the former were seven convicts, and in the latter thirteen. The meat was sweet, but the bread not good, and the beer thick.

"The prisoners were all in total idleness, except six or seven who were making a boat for the captain. One ingenious man had made a small inkstand (which I have by me) out of a bone of his meat; but his knife was taken from him. I saw some with Bibles in their hands; but here is no chaplain, nor any religious service. Here also some of the keepers, by their profaneness, set a bad example to the prisoners.

"Three miserable objects, for attempting to break out, were let down into a dreadful, dark and deep hole at the bottom of the ship, where they lay, almost naked, upon a little straw; but, having been thus confined for some weeks, upon their earnest entreaties, I obtained their release.

## THE HULK AT GOSPORT

"At Gosport, 7 July, 1788, there were two hundred and seventy-three convicts in the hulk of an old Indiaman, called the *Lion*, which was moored here 1 May, 1788. The ship was clean, and the prisoners had a healthy and placid look; but they lay two on a bed, with one blanket. Here were several to be transported for life, and some whose sentences were for a short term: among them were boys of only ten years of age. About one hundred and fifty of them were on shore, moving mould, who had irons on both legs, and a chain between them. Five carpenters were fitting up rooms for them to dine in, on shore; which is much better than returning at noon to the hulk, as the convicts do on the Thames.

## THE HULKS NEAR PORTSMOUTH

"At Langston harbour, near Portsmouth, are three hulks. In *La Fortunée* (formerly a French thirty-six gun frigate) there were, 8 July, 1788, three hundred and thirty-eight convicts. In the *Ceres*, which was the receiving ship at Woolwich, and was brought round here 1 July, 1788, were two hundred and nineteen convicts. The other is an old hulk, now fitting up for a hospital ship. Two hundred and thirty of the convicts of the

*Fortunée*, and one hundred and four of the *Ceres*, were at work on Cumberland Fort; nineteen of them as masons, six as carpenters, and the rest as labourers. Most of these were unloading the ships, and carrying stones to different parts of the new works. They dine on shore at twelve o'clock. Their bread and beer were good, but they complained sadly of the meat, and indeed not without cause; for the beef was very lean, full of bones, and not half the allowance, viz. one pound to each man before it is dressed.

"All who are employed in the public works on shore have, each day they work, one pint of small beer, the king's allowance. Most of them had a ring on one leg, and the other ring fastened to their waistband.[1]

"Both the ships were clean, particularly the *Ceres*. The *Fortunée* had few sick in that part called the hospital; but the *Ceres* had many more sick than the hospital part could contain. Several had the gaol-fever, and a few, petechiæ. Six out of ten that went from Bedford were dead, and two of the others were very sickly and dispirited.[2] The convicts lie two on a straw bed, with one blanket; and after one is taken ill, his companion soon sickens. Some few have hammocks, which in every view are better, and I wish they were in general use, except in the hospital ships. The *Ceres* being an old receiving ship, may be one cause of its being contaminated with infection; and most of the convicts here are from the country. There is not however, in general, that attention to cleanliness in the clothes, linen, and persons of the prisoners in the hulks which is necessary to preserve their health: for though some were decently clothed in their own clothes, others were in rags; many without shirts. All should be clothed in a sailor's uniform, of jacket, trousers, etc., and I could wish that the whole of Saturday were appropriated to cleanliness, viz. bathing, washing and mending their clothes, shaving, cleaning themselves and every part of the

[1] "It is asserted by some persons, and Government are made to believe it, that these convicts do more work than common day-labourers. But, from the frequent observation of them, I am convinced the contrary is the truth; and indeed, how could it be expected that men who labour involuntarily, with scanty diet, and small encouragement, should exert themselves with as much spirit as those who have the pleasing idea of a wife and children to share in their gains?

[2] "The gaoler at Reading told me, 12 July, 1788, that of the eleven convicts whom he carried on board the hulks, 1 April, 1787, all were dead but three. I have observed, that convicts from the country often pine away and die without any apparent sign of illness; and that of equal numbers, from the country, and from Newgate, three or four of the former die for one of the latter.

ships, and beating and airing their bedding. Thus endeavouring to introduce habits of cleanliness is an object of great importance; as many officers have observed, "that the most cleanly men are always the most decent and honest, and the most slovenly and dirty are the most vicious and irregular." On other days, none who are able should be excused from work. There were in the *Fortunée* one hundred excused from work, though the ship was healthy.

"It would be better if there were a diet table painted and hung up in every hulk, for the inspection of the convicts; and if they were permitted to choose two of their number to see that justice is done to them, as in the ninth article of the rules for the prisoners of war, which I formerly published; and proper scales, weights and measures ought to be kept for their use. There should also be a table of rules and orders, similar to that for prisoners of war, with a strict prohibition against profaneness, which, I am sorry to say, is particularly necessary for the guards of these convicts. A gentleman of reputation should be appointed as commissary, to whom the prisoners, in case of cruelty or injustice, might immediately appeal; and who also should see that the money allowed by Government, at the end of their term, be given them. See Act sixteenth George III, cap. 43 and Act twenty-fourth George III, cap. 12, sect. 6. By this Act, and another of the same year, cap. 56, sect. 9, it is declared: "That all the time during which any offender, shall have continued in gaol under sentence of transportation, or being removed under the provisions aforesaid, shall continue confined by virtue of this Act, shall be taken and reckoned in discharge, or part discharge, or satisfaction of the term of his transportation." Some of the convicts were sentenced for life, others for fourteen, seven, five, or three years: among these were boys; and all associating together without distinction. Is it not contrary to justice and humanity to send convicts who are not sentenced for life, to a settlement so remote that there is no probability of their return; and a still greater hardship to those who are sent after they have been four or five years and upwards in confinement, as some were in the last fleet to Botany Bay?

"I think it will be admitted that the mode of confinement and labour in the hulks is too severe for the far greater number of those who are confined in them. At the same time, there is no proportion of punishment to the several offences, and consequently, no distinction of guilt; which many wise legislators have long lamented as an evil which wants to be remedied.

"The number of convicts in the hulks at the times they were visited in 1788:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| "Woolwich | 16 July | in the | *Justitia* . | 265 |
| | | ,, | *Censor* . | 248 |
| | | ,, | *Stanislaus* | 228 |
| Plymouth | 28 June | ,, | *Dunkirk* . | 366 |
| Gosport | 7 July | ,, | *Lion* . | 273 |
| Langston Harbour | 8 July | ,, | *Fortunée* . | 338 |
| | | ,, | *Ceres* . | 219 |
| | | | Total . | 1937" |

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 216–19.]

## REMARKS ON THE GAOL-FEVER[1]

"I SHALL take the liberty here to subjoin a few additional remarks on the gaol-fever; in which, if I shall appear to have invaded the province of the gentlemen of the faculty, I hope to be pardoned, from the consideration that my experience in this matter may, in some degree, supply my want of other means of knowledge.

"If it were asked, what is the cause of the gaol-fever? it would in general be readily replied, 'the want of fresh air and cleanliness.' But as I have found, in some prisons abroad, cells and dungeons as offensive and dirty as any I have observed in this country, where, however, this distemper was unknown, I am obliged to look out for some additional cause of its production. I am of opinion, that the sudden change of diet and lodging so affects the spirits of new convicts, that the general causes of putrid fevers exert an immediate effect upon them. Hence it is common to see them sicken and die in a short time, with very little apparent illness. Convicts are generally stout, robust young men, who have been accustomed to free diet, tolerable lodgings, and vigorous exercise. These are ironed, thrust into close offensive dungeons, and there chained down, some of them without straw or other bedding; here they continue, in winter, sixteen or seventeen hours out of the twenty-four, in utter inactivity, and immersed in the noxious effluvia of their own bodies. On this account, the gaol-distemper is always observed

[1] As the gaol-fever has an immediate connection with the subjects on which I have been treating, for the sake of such readers as may not have seen what I have formerly said upon it, I here copy it, with a little variation, from my last publication.

to reign more in our prisons during winter than summer;[1] contrary, I presume, to the nature of other putrid diseases. Their diet is at the same time low and scanty; they are generally without firing; and the powers of life soon become incapable of resisting so many causes of sickness and despair.

"On my visits in 1779, I found only one person ill of the gaol-fever: he was in Newgate, under sentence of death. In 1782, I did not find a single person labouring under that disorder throughout the whole kingdom. But in 1783, when the prisons became crowded in consequence of the peace, I was sorry to observe, that through the original faulty construction of many of them, and the want of attention in magistrates properly to inspect them, and enforce the orders of the Act for preserving the health of prisoners, they were beginning to return to their former wretched state.[2]

"Several instances of alarming and fatal sickness in gaols have since been communicated to me; some of which I have seen, and noted in their proper places. I have to remark, however, that it appears doubtful to me, whether, in some of these, the disorder was the proper gaol-fever, produced in and peculiar to such situations; or an epidemic disease, which attacked prisoners only in common with other inhabitants of the same town. It cannot be expected that gaols should be preserved free from such visitations as these: it is only to be hoped, that care and attention will be used to prevent the disease from becoming more malignant and fatal in these, than in other places."[3]

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 231–2.]

[1] "In conversation with the physician to the military hospital at Moscow, on my observing that the windows of the wards were shut, he answered: 'Almost all our disorders are in winter; for the Russians enclose themselves in hot rooms, and dislike the fresh air, even before the cold months commence.'

[2] "It may not be improper here to put persons on their guard against an artifice not unfrequently practised by gaolers, in order to prevent a proper examination of their prisons. When a gentleman, particularly a magistrate, has come with an intention to visit the gaol, the keeper has pretended the utmost willingness to accompany him, but at the same time has artfully dropped a hint that he fears there may be some danger in it, as he is apprehensive that the fever has made its appearance among them. The visitor, alarmed, returns thanks for the kind caution, and insatntly leaves the house. On such occasions I have always the more insisted on the necessity of a close inspection; and have generally found the prison very dirty indeed, and out of order, but no fever.

[3] "Since my return from Turkey, I have been frequently asked what precautions I use, to preserve myself from infection; I here again answer, that next to the free goodness and mercy of the Author of my being, temperance and cleanliness are my chief preservatives. Trusting in

## REMARKS ON PENITENTIARY HOUSES

"THE Act for establishing penitentiary houses, drawn up by two of the wisest men this kingdom has produced,[1] was 'a work of long and continued labour and inquiry,' and the legislature fully expressed their wise and humane sentiments in the following terms; 'that if many offenders convicted of crimes for which transportation has been usually inflicted, were ordered to solitary imprisonment, accompanied by well regulated labour, and religious instruction, it might be the means, under Providence, not only of deterring others from the commission of the like crimes, but also of reforming the individuals, and inuring them to habits of industry.'[2] Such a great and comprehensive plan

Divine Providence, and believing myself in the way of my duty, I visit the most infectious hospitals and noxious cells; and while thus employed, I fear no evil. However, I seldom enter a hospital or prison before breakfast; in an offensive room I avoid drawing my breath deeply; and on my return sometimes wash my mouth and hands."

[1] Blackstone and Eden.—[Ed.]

[2] "As I have formerly published, in a table, the number of criminals delivered from Newgate to be transported, in the years 1773, 1774, 1775, I shall here take the liberty of copying, at the end of this work, from the appendix to the draft of a Bill for erecting penitentiary houses, 'the lists in the House of Commons, of all persons, who between the first day of November, 1769, and the first day of November, 1776, had, within any jurisdiction of England and Wales, been ordered for transportation, in consequence of conditional pardons or otherwise: which lists were returned to the House pursuant to a motion for that purpose of 8 November, 1776.' Upon these lists the following observation is added: 'The annual average of persons sentenced to transportation during the seven years above specified appears to have been nine hundred and sixty; and this number is less by near one half than would probably be found in similar lists for the seven years preceding: for the judges had already seen strong objections to transportation, and had discouraged the use of it, as far as was compatible with the public convenience and safety.' I perfectly concur in opinion, with a great and learned writer whom I have already quoted: 'That every effect of banishment, as practised in England, is often beneficial to the criminal, and always injurious to the community.'—*Principles of Penal Law*, page 33.

"I here copy one or two receipts of contractors which I have by me, showing that persons who have money may buy off their servitude.

"'Received 29 April, 1774, of R——d W——ff for his passage to, and for his freedom in Maryland, notwithstanding he dares not return from thence till the limited time of his transportation is expired.

"'*Moses Israel Fonseca.*'"

"'LONDON, 30 *April*, 1774, ASTON HALL.

"'Received of Mr. R——d L——h the sum of four pounds, four shillings, for the freedom and accommodation on their passage, on board the above ship to Baltimore, Maryland.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| R——d W——ffe . | £2 | 2 | 0 |
| W——m A——n . | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | 4 | 4 | 0 |

*John Parker.*'"

will necessarily require alterations and amendments; but I well remember the good Judge Blackstone saying to me, 'Let it get into the house, and a beginning be made.'

"I will therefore take the liberty to suggest, that there are some things in the Act which it may be proper to alter. The time for which some of the convicts are to be committed to the intended penitentiary houses, viz. some one year, some two years. Such criminals seem more proper for the county houses of correction: for is it possible to think of any reformation in a convict's behaviour, that is likely to prove lasting, in the compass of a year? I could wish to have all such as are not to remain in a penitentiary house five years, at least, disposed of in some other manner.

"The term Penitentiary clearly shows that Parliament had chiefly in view the reformation and amendment of those to be committed to such places of confinement.

"To these houses, however, I should wish that none but old, hardened offenders, and those who have, as the laws now stand, forfeited their lives by robbery, house-breaking, and similar crimes, should be committed; or in short, those criminals who are to be confined for a long term, or for life. I wish that no persons might suffer capitally but for murder, for setting houses on fire, and for house-breaking, attended with acts of cruelty. Our present laws are certainly too sanguinary, and are therefore ill executed; which last circumstance, by encouraging offenders to hope that they may escape punishment, even after conviction, greatly tends to increase the number of crimes. Yet many are brought to a premature end, who might have been made useful to the state. Indeed, I the more earnestly embarked in the scheme of erecting penitentiary houses, from seeing cartloads of our fellow-creatures carried to execution, 'though the generous nature of our countrymen rarely permits them to perpetrate acts of cruelty,' when at the same time I was fully persuaded that many of those unhappy wretches, by regular, steady discipline in a penitentiary house, would have been rendered useful members of society; and above all, from the pleasing hope, that such a plan might be the means of promoting the salvation of some individuals; of which, every instance is, according to the unerring word of truth, a more important object, than the gaining of the whole world.

"The penitentiary houses I would have built, in a great measure, by the convicts. I will suppose that a power is obtained from Parliament to employ such of them as are now

at work on the Thames, or some of those who are in the county gaols, under sentence of transportation, as may be thought most expedient. In the first place, let the surrounding wall, intended for full security against escapes, be completed, and proper lodges for the gatekeepers. Let temporary buildings, of the nature of barracks, be erected in some part of this enclosure which will be wanted the least, till the whole is finished. Let one or two hundred men, with their proper keepers, and under the directions of the builder, be employed in levelling the ground, digging out the foundation, serving the masons, sawing the timber and stone: and as I have found several convicts who were carpenters, masons, and smiths, these may be employed in their own branches of trade; since such work is as necessary and proper as any other in which they can be engaged. Let the people thus employed chiefly consist of those—whose term is nearly expired—or, who are committed for a short term; and as the ground is suitably prepared for the builders, the garden made, the wells dug, and the building finished, let those who are to be dismissed go off gradually; as it would be very improper to send them back to the hulks or gaols again. By this method, they may be kept most usefully employed; and at the same time, by regular labour, some degree of separation, and proper conduct of their overseers to them, they may perhaps be a little reformed: for, except their keepers, and the directors of the works, they will be no more intermixed with other people than where they are now, at Woolwich, Portsmouth, or Gosport. I have not considered this scheme superficially, though I can bear being told, it is absurd. Many have been reclaimed and made useful members of society, in foreign houses of correction, and have thanked God for their confinement in them: these houses are called in Holland *Verbeter huizen*, that is, bettering houses: and, the settled object in all such houses should be, to make men better; at least, more useful subjects. Their earnings constitute, in my opinion, but a secondary consideration: for surely, it is impossible to place any degree of profit in competition with the prospect of meliorating the minds of our fellow creatures.

"The object I am sensible is great, but it is useful. If I should not be able to accomplish this good work, I would still endeavour to bring materials, and lay the foundation; that others, of more skill, may afterwards undertake the benevolent task, and carry to perfection a plan, worthy of the great Sir William Blackstone, with whom I had the honour of much conversation on this

subject; a man, of such vast extent of capacity, as to have comprehended, in one enlarged view, the whole fabric of our laws; who was able to reduce them to a regular system; and, who further possessed, what is rarely united to great abilities, constancy to execute his immortal work."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 220–2.]

"A proper plan for the government of penitentiary houses is of great importance, and is more practicable than some suspect. I am aware indeed of the difficulty of accomplishing so arduous an undertaking as that of reforming criminals, and inuring them to habits of industry; yet, when it is for the public good, we ought to make experiments; and indeed, what have I been doing in collecting the regulations of some of the best directed houses of correction in Europe, and such as experience has proved to be practicable, but endeavouring to facilitate the execution of this useful design. The decency, regularity and order that I observed in the houses of correction in Holland, Hamburg, Berne, Ghent, Florence, etc., I am fully persuaded, proceeded, in a great degree, from the constant attention that is paid to impress the prisoners with a sense of religion, by plain, serious discourse, catechising and familiar instruction from the chaplains, together with the influence of a good example, both in them and the keepers. These circumstances make a much greater impression upon the minds of criminals, when in prison, than they would have done before they came there. We have too much adopted the gothic mode of correction, viz. by rigorous severity, which often hardens the heart; while many foreigners pursue the more rational plan of softening the mind in order to its amendment.

"I hope I shall be excused in repeating some general hints on this subject, as an outline for the government of such houses.

## GENERAL HEADS OF REGULATIONS PROPOSED TO BE ESTABLISHED IN PENITENTIARY HOUSES OR HOUSES OF CORRECTION

"Security. Situation; contrivance of the building; lodging upstairs, or over arcades; clothes of two colours; turnstiles and low gates; alarm-bell; double doors, one iron-latticed; high wall surrounding; number and disposition of turnkeys; military guard if necessary; gaoler's windows looking into the yard; collar, ring, or somewhat of that kind to be worn for discovery on escapes; times of opening and shutting up to be strictly observed; caution in

admitting visitors; only to be admitted at certain days and times; not many at once; to be searched for tools, spirituous liquors, etc.

"HEALTH. Fresh and sweet air; open windows and apertures for a thorough draught of air; prisoners made to go out and air themselves at proper times; privies properly situated; the sewers spacious.

"*Cleanliness.* 1. The prisoners' persons; use of baths at admission and other times; to wash before meals; water in the courts and wards; soap and towels; sinks, etc., in proper places; heads shaved; encouragements to the most cleanly.

"2. Their clothes; linen clean, how often; other clothes; bedding; beds brought out and beaten.

"3. The house; washing and sweeping of cells; workrooms; staircases; galleries, etc.; sewers; water closets; oval drains; yards; plenty of water; waste water through the privies; scraping the walls; lime-whiting twice a year.

"DIET. *Provisions,* quantity; and quality; proportioned to work; difference in summer and winter; hot provisions daily; breakfast; dinner; supper, what manner of dividing and sharing; hours of meals; allowance in weight; inspectors of provision; house weights; liquor, what measure of; prisoners allowed to purchase, what and when.

"CLOTHING. A prison uniform; materials; colour, etc.; linen provided; stockings; shoes, etc.

"LODGING. Separate cell for each prisoner; sexes separated; linen, and bedding, what difference in summer and winter; upon barrack-beds, or iron, or wooden bedsteads; flues or stoves to warm the day-rooms in winter; time allotted for sleep.

"FIRING. Fuel, what kind and quantity; when and how long; fires, where to be made; stoves; flues, etc.

"RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND MORALS. *Chaplain.* His duty; what and when; private admonitions to young offenders; plain, serious discourse; catechising; chapel; manner of placing the prisoners in; persons to overlook their behaviour; reward and punishment for behaviour at; visitors dismissed at service time; prisoners reading chapters or prayers; Bibles, and other books provided; grace at meals; no gaming or drinking; ministers of different persuasions allowed.

"EMPLOYMENT. Proportioned to strength; and to degree of criminality; hours of; kinds of; within doors and without doors; number working together; tasks; mere labour or manufactures requiring ingenuity; the labour of each distinguished from that of another; working at their own trades; clothing, etc., of the house made by prisoners; washing; baking; proportion of profit to be allowed to prisoners.

"Wholesomeness of employment; ready sale of manufacture; conveyance of raw materials, and manufactured; tools required, not dangerous ones; returned at night.

"REWARDS. Shortening term of confinement; work lighter or

more agreeable; order of being served at meals; better provision; degree of liberty allowed; cells more convenient; profit of work; distribution of charity; advance into a higher class; money given at discharge; clothes given at discharge; a character at discharge; money at the end of one year, and two years when discharged.

"PUNISHMENTS. Abridgment of diet; or coarser kind; hard or disagreeable work; marks of disgrace, wearing collar, etc.; stripes; term lengthened on attempts to escape; shutting up the refractory in strong rooms; solitary confinement with work, and silence of keepers.

"TREATMENT OF SICK. An infirmary; a bath; medical attendance; medicines; freer allowance of diet, milk, wine, bark, etc.; soap and clean linen; fresh air; nurses, number of; precautions against infection; fumigation; clothes exposed to fire; in an oven, or buried; room for convalescents; gradual return to usual diet and labour.

"PROCEEDINGS ON DEATH OF PRISONERS. Coroner; jury how composed; funeral; without the precincts; how attended; expense allowed for.

"GOVERNMENT OF PRISON. *Magistrates.* To visit at proper periods; without previous notice; to see and examine all prisoners separately; fix rewards or punishments; a room for in the prison.

"*Inspectors.* By whom appointed; their duty; time of continuance in office; how often to visit; at unexpected times; to view the whole prison, and hear prisoners' complaints; to examine and weigh provisions; to inquire into the conduct of prisoners, and represent proper objects for favour; attendance at chapel; no salary.

"*Gaoler.* His duty; inspection of; complaints against admitted; obliged to constant residence; allowed no profit from provisions, liquor, etc.; manner of choosing him; no rent or taxes to pay; no fees, or private emoluments from prisoners; salary of, suitable to the important trust.

"*Matron.* Salary of; duty.

"*Turnkeys.* Number of; by whom appointed; salary; their office.

"*Manufacturer.* Salary of; duty.

"*Taskmaster.* Salary of; duty.

"REGULATIONS MADE KNOWN. Tables, exposed to public view; intelligibly drawn up; of the duty of officers; of keepers; of prisoners; of hours of opening and shutting; of work; of behaviour of keeper to prisoners; of prisoners to keeper; of rewards and punishments; of attendance on divine service; of diet; where hung; how made known; painted on a board; printed and given to each prisoner; to be read at certain times; by chaplain; or keeper." [1]

[1] The Act of Parliament for Penitentiary Houses was originally founded on the principal regulations of the Dutch rasp-houses and spin-houses; but has received many alterations and improvements. Should this act be put in execution, the best information both upon the ancient and present state of those houses, may be found in Pontanus's Latin and Wagenaar's Dutch *Description of Amsterdam*; as they give the fullest and most satisfactory account of them.

"I would wish that the rooms for solitary confinement at night were not too small, and would plead for the cheering influence of light, as well as of air, in them. The lazaretto at Zante came up to my ideas of the construction of a penitentiary house, or house of correction, more, I think, than any building I have yet seen. It also had that exposure to the salutary influence of the breezes, and that cheerfulness of aspect, which are so necessary to relieve the languor attending sickness and confinement.

"I conclude this subject in the words of an elegant writer, in the prefatory observations on a draught of a Bill to punish by imprisonment and hard labour, etc., that, 'if a beginning be once made, by adopting such a plan as may appear the least liable to objections (for none can be entirely free from them) it must be left to time, experience, and the wisdom of subsequent sessions, to revise, improve, and mature it. Many useful and essential amendments may, even at present, be expected from others who will give their immediate attention: and much must ultimately depend on the active, judicious, and discreet concurrence of magistrates and gentlemen of weight in the different parts of the kingdom: for it will be impossible, in the first introduction of so great an establishment, to foresee and prescribe the whole detail of rules necessary to be observed; and indeed it will be better, in every respect, to leave that detail, under proper checks and restrictions, to be hereafter planned and settled in the several districts to be established.'"

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 226–30.]

# CONCLUSION

## To The State of the Prisons

It was once my intention to have published the preceding account of English prisons, without any of the introductory matter which composes the former part of this volume. But thinking, from a close attention to the subject, that it was in my power in some instances to suggest remedies to the evils of which I had been witness; and aware of the common proverbial objection "that it is easier to find faults than to mend them"; I imagined I should be culpable in suppressing anything which might conduce to improvement in a matter I had so much at heart.

A person of more ability, with my knowledge of facts, would have written better: but the object of my ambition was not the fame of an author. Hearing the cry of the miserable, I devoted my time to their relief. In order to procure it, I made it my business to collect materials, the authenticity of which could not be disputed. For the warmth of some expressions where my subject obliges me to complain, and for my eagerness to remove the several grievances, my apology must be drawn from the deep distress of the sufferers, and the impression the view of it made upon me—an impression too deep to be effaced by any length of time!

What I have proposed throughout my work is liable, I am sensible, to some objections; and these will, doubtless, be heightened by the cavils of those whose interest it is to prevent the reformation of abuses on which their ease or emolument may depend. Yet I hope not to be entirely deserted in the conflict: and if this publication should be the means of exciting the attention of my countrymen to this important national concern—of alleviating the distresses of poor debtors and other prisoners; of procuring for them cleanly and wholesome abodes, and exterminating the gaol-fever, which has so often spread abroad its dreadful contagion; of abolishing, or at least reducing, the oppressive fees of clerks of assize, and of the peace; of preventing the sale of liquors in prisons; of checking the impositions of gaolers, and the extortions of bailiffs; of introducing a

habit of industry into our bridewells, and restraining the shocking debauchery and immorality which prevail in our gaols and other prisons—if any of these beneficial consequences shall accrue, the writer will be happy in the pleasing reflection that he has not lived without doing some good to his fellow-creatures; and will think himself abundantly repaid for all the pains he has taken, the time he has spent, and the hazards he has encountered.

## CONCLUSION

### To The Account of Lazarettos

"In my late inquiries into the state of the prisons of this country, it has given me sincere pleasure to find, that, from the attention of the magistrates, and the operation of the salutary Act for preserving the health of prisoners, the gaols of the capital, though crowded, have been freed from that disease which formerly destroyed more persons than the hand of the executioner; and those in the country have been so much improved, that most of them may now be visited without hazard of infection; whilst the judges are secured from those risks which formerly attended them in the discharge of their important office. With satisfaction I have also observed the liberal and humane spirit which engages the public to alleviate the sufferings of prisoners in general, and particularly, to release many industrious, though unfortunate, debtors. But at this point, the spirit of improvement unhappily seems to stop, scarcely touching upon that still more important object, the reformation of morals in our prisons: yet it is obvious that if this be neglected, besides the evil consequences that must result from such a source of wickedness, a suspicion will arise, that what has been already done has proceeded, chiefly, from the selfish motive of avoiding the danger to our own health, in attending courts of judicature.

"In this further reformation, it will be absolutely necessary to begin with the capital: for as, in my former visits, when I have met with the gaol-fever in county prisons, I have been almost constantly told, that it was derived from those in London; so the corruption of manners also, flowing from that great fountain, spreads far and wide its malignant streams. In what prison in London is there a proper separation of criminals, the

old from the young, convicts from the untried? Where are the night-rooms for solitary confinement and reflection? Where is any proper attention paid to sick and dying prisoners? Where are the rules and orders of magistrates for the direction of gaolers, and the government of prisoners? In what gaol are not the ears shocked with the profaneness both of prisoners and turnkeys? Where is any regard paid to the Lord's day? Where is not the afternoon of that day a time of greater concourse of visitants than any other? And, though the gaoler's taps are abolished, yet, are not publicans continually waiting to serve the prisoners, and their company? Is not beer now sold by the debtors? And do not turnkeys keep shops in the gaols?

"No effectual reform will be made in our prisons till the root of these evils be cut off, which, from the closest observation, I am convinced is the vice of drunkenness. To this end, restraints must be laid, which will, to many, I am sensible, appear harsh and severe; but, in this matter, there is no medium: any indulgence to particular classes of prisoners will ruin the whole design. It will, in my idea, be absolutely necessary to prohibit the introduction of any kind of liquor except milk, whey, butter-milk, or water into gaols; and in order to diminish the apparent hardship upon debtors, I heartily wish that such an alteration were made in our laws with respect to confinement for debt, that none should undergo it but dishonest and fraudulent debtors. Such are criminals, and ought to be treated accordingly.

"With regard to the health and real comfort of prisoners, I am persuaded, they would be promoted by such a prohibition. Within fourteen years, how many prisoners, together with their keepers, have I known destroyed by drinking, and how many convicts, going out of the world, in a state of intoxication! Criminals are, for the most part, under the middle age of life, and therefore strong enough in constitution to bear the trial of thoroughly breaking their bad habits; and as to debtors,[1] who generally live in prisons in utter idleness, they can have little occasion for strong liquors, and would receive much more benefit from a little addition of meat and vegetables to their diet, which, by this restriction, they might better afford.[2]

[1] "Of this class how many persons have I known, or heard of, who have gone into prison sober men; but who have either destroyed themselves there by drinking, or have gone out mere sots?

[2] "If Gentlemen of the Faculty, and others, still object to the exclusion of all fermented liquors from gaols, under the idea that their use is in some measure necessary as antiseptics, I would desire them to consider that by

"After all, the best laws will fail in their effect, unless the assiduous and zealous endeavours of magistrates be exerted in a strict attention to their execution. Abuses, though ever so studiously guarded against, will creep in; and it requires the utmost vigilance to detect, and resolution to reform them. If I have been able to point out any of these, and to suggest their causes and remedies, it has been by that close, persevering attention to one object, which has in some measure supplied the want of original abilities, and given me clearer notions, and a more decided opinion upon these matters.

"To my country I commit the result of my past labours. It is my intention again to quit it for the purpose of revisiting Russia, Turkey, and some other countries, and extending my tour in the East. I am not insensible of the dangers that must attend such a journey. Trusting, however, in the protection of that kind Providence which has hitherto preserved me, I calmly and cheerfully commit myself to the disposal of unerring wisdom. Should it please God to cut off my life in the prosecution of this design, let not my conduct be uncandidly imputed to rashness or enthusiasm, but to a serious, deliberate conviction that I am pursuing the path of duty; and to a sincere desire of being made an instrument of more extensive usefulness to my fellow-creatures than could be expected in the narrower circle of a retired life.

### Draught of a Bill

"Whereas the good and wholesome laws made for the better regulation of the gaols of this kingdom, and for preventing drunkenness and rioting therein, have not proved sufficiently effectual to answer the purposes thereby intended, May it therefore please your Majesty that it may be enacted, and Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the twenty-ninth

the proposed dietary prisoners are to have a warm dish, chiefly of vegetables, twice a day; and that of female prisoners, who in general drink very little beer, a small proportion, compared with the men, die in prison. I am sensible my ideas are contrary to the present fashionable mode of prescription, which, I am persuaded, confirms the habit of drinking strong liquors, both in town and country; but may I not hope that the opinions of medical gentlemen will, in time, alter as much upon this subject, as I have seen in their treatment of the smallpox?

day of September one thousand seven hundred and —— no gaoler, keeper, or officer of any gaol, prison, or house of correction, or any person or persons in trust for, or employed by such gaoler, keeper, or other officer, shall permit or suffer any liquor of any sort to be brought in, sold, given away, or used in any such gaol, prison, or house of correction, save and except milk, whey, butter-milk, or water; and every such gaoler, keeper or officer offending therein, shall, for every such offence, forfeit and lose the sum of one hundred pounds, one moiety thereof to the informer and the other moiety thereof to the treasurer of the county where the offence shall be committed, to be applied to the use of the county stock; the said penalty to be sued for in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, by action of debt, bill, plaint or information; and in case any such gaoler or other officer, being convicted thereof, as aforesaid, shall again offend in like manner, and be thereof a second time lawfully convicted, such second offence shall be deemed a forfeiture of his office.

"And be it further enacted, that if any person or persons shall carry, or bring, or attempt or endeavour by any clandestine ways or means to carry or bring, into any gaol, prison, or house of correction, any liquor of any sort or kind, other than milk, whey, butter-milk, or water; it shall be lawful for the gaol-keeper or other officer of such gaol, prison, or house of correction, or his or their servants to apprehend such person or persons, and to carry him, her, or them before a justice of the peace of the county, division, city, town corporate, or liberty where such gaol, prison, or house of correction shall be situated, who is hereby empowered to hear and determine such offence in a summary way; and if by the oath of one credible witness, or otherwise, he shall convict such person or persons of such offence, he shall forthwith commit such offender or offenders to prison, or to the house of correction, there to be kept in custody for any time not exceeding three months, without bail or main-prize, unless such offender or offenders shall immediately pay down such sum or sums of money, not exceeding ten pounds, and not less than five pounds, as the said justice shall impose as a fine, to be paid one moiety to the informer and the other moiety to the treasurer of the county stock, to be applied for the benefit of the stock of the said county, division, town, or liberty, where such gaol or house of correction shall be situated.

"PROVIDED always, and be it further enacted, that nothing

herein before contained shall extend or be construed to extend to any person bringing liquors into the house of the gaoler for the use of the private family of the said gaoler, or keeper of such house of correction, and delivering the same into the hands of the said gaoler; nor to any person bringing into any infirmary in any gaol or house of correction any liquor or medicine prescribed by any surgeon or apothecary appointed to attend such gaol or house of correction, and delivering the same into the hands of such surgeon or apothecary or other person appointed by such surgeon or apothecary to receive the same.

"And be it further enacted, that the several justices of the peace, at their quarter sessions assembled, are hereby authorised and required to order and direct the several articles mentioned and contained in the schedule hereunto annexed, to be delivered and supplied to any prisoner who shall be committed to any gaol, prison, or house of correction, for any treason, felony, trespass or misdemeanour, for the subsistence and support of such prisoner, during the time of his confinement there; and shall likewise order and direct that the rooms in any gaol set apart as an infirmary for the sick prisoners shall be provided with a sufficient number of straw beds, the straw thereof to be changed once in every month at the least, and shall also direct a proper supply of sheets, rugs or other coverlets for the said beds, and also a proper quantity of linen, and necessary clothing to be worn by the said prisoners, and shall also order that from Michaelmas to Lady Day a fire shall be kept in the room used by the said prisoners as their common or day-room; Provided always that no contract for the supply of any gaol with provisions, bedding, fuel, or any other articles whatsoever shall be made with any person or persons keeping any gaol, prison, or house of correction, or any other person employed in or about the same, nor with any person for the use of any gaoler, or keeper of any prison or house of correction, so that he or they shall have any interest therein, or benefit therefrom.

"And be it further enacted, that the expenses attending the execution of the orders of the said justices, made in pursuance of this act, so far as the same respects county gaols, shall be borne and defrayed out of the respective county rates; and so far as the same shall respect the gaols and prisons of particular cities, towns corporate, liberties or places that do not contribute to the rates of the counties where they are respectively situated, such expenses shall be defrayed out of the public stock or rates of such cities, towns corporate, liberties or places, having an

exclusive jurisdiction to which such gaols shall respectively belong.

"And be it further enacted, that all prisoners adjudged to be guilty of felony shall be confined and kept separate from the other prisoners confined in such gaols, prisons, or houses of correction, and shall also be put in separate cells, apart from each other, by night, and all other prisoners committed for trial, or confined for the non-payment of fines, shall also be kept separate and apart by night, as far as the structure of the said several gaols in which they may be confined will admit.

"And be it further enacted, that each cell or night-room shall be furnished with proper bedding, etc., and that no prisoner or prisoners who are not disorderly shall be closely confined in his or their cells or rooms; but they shall be out in the court or yard some hours every day.

"And be it further enacted, that every prisoner acquitted or discharged by bill returned ignoramus by the grand jury, or on trial, or by proclamation, or on having his Majesty's free pardon, shall in the presence of the judge of assize, if at the sessions of Oyer and Terminer or gaol delivery, or of the justices in their quarter sessions, if at the quarter sessions, immediately after such his or her acquittal or discharge or pardon, have his irons taken off in open court, and be at liberty to depart, and shall not be detained on account of any fees whatsoever, or for any debt contracted during his or her imprisonment claimed by any gaoler or keeper of any prison or house of correction under any pretence whatsoever.

"And whereas the great number of persons that daily resort to prisoners confined in the different gaols promotes rioting and debauchery, and tends to the commission of further crimes, and to facilitate escapes from the said gaols; Be it therefore enacted, that no person shall be admitted into any gaol, prison, or house of correction, to visit any prisoner therein confined for debt, but on three days of the week, namely, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and then only three persons on each of those days to each prisoner so confined, and that no person shall be admitted to visit any prisoner committed for any treason, felony, or breach of the peace, or misdemeanour, but on Friday in each week, and then only two persons on such day to each prisoner so confined.

"Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend to the excluding of any persons employed in and about such gaols and prisons for the necessary purposes thereof, nor any

person coming to execute any legal process, or for the purpose of procuring any affidavit or any attestation from any prisoner therein confined, nor the judge of assize or grand jury at any assizes, nor any magistrate of the county where such gaols shall be situated, nor any person authorised under the hand and seal of any such magistrate, to visit the said gaol or any prisoner therein, nor any clergyman or minister of any religious sect or persuasion.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person committed by virtue of any writ, process, or action, or attachment, shall, at seasonable times in the daytime, send for, or have brought to him, her or them any victuals or necessary food, from what place he she or they shall think fit, or can have the same: and that one or more servant or servants of the gaoler or keeper shall in the morning of every day in the week (Sunday only excepted) go out to order, purchase or provide such victuals, or other necessary food, at the free will and pleasure of such person or persons under confinement.

"And be it further enacted, that every gaoler, or keeper of every gaol, prison, or house of correction, shall on or before the twenty-ninth day of September one thousand seven hundred and —— cause one or more copies of this act to be painted on a board, and hung up in some of the most conspicuous or public places in such gaol, prison, or house of correction, and renew the same from time to time, so that it may always be kept fair and legible, on pain of forfeiting the sum of forty shillings to be levied by warrant of any justice of the county, city, town corporate, liberty, division, or place where such gaol, prison, or house of correction shall be situated; and it shall be lawful for any justice to enter into such gaol and demand a sight of such copy so to be hung up as aforesaid, and if the same shall not be forthwith shown him so hung up in some public place, fair and legible, as aforesaid, such justice shall and may immediately convict such gaoler or keeper of such default, and so from time to time as often as such default shall be made, one moiety of the said penalty to be paid to the informer and the other moiety (or the whole if there be no informer) to the treasurer of the county, to be applied to the stock of the said county.

"The Schedule to which the above bill refers."

"Good wheaten bread, a pound and a half daily, i.e. half a pound at breakfast and a pound at dinner.

Breakfast. Every day, a quarter of a pint of wheaten or barley meal, oatmeal or rice made into soup.

DINNER. Sunday and Thursday, a pound of beef, mutton, or pork without bone.

Monday and Friday, a pint of peas boiled in the broth of the preceding day.

Tuesday, half a pint of wheat or wheat flour made into pudding or soup.

Wednesday, two pounds of potatoes, turnips, carrots, or other vegetables that are in season.

Saturday, a quarter of a pound of cheese, or the vegetables as on Wednesday.

Salt, every day, a quarter of an ounce."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, pp. 233–8.]

# TABLES

## TABLE I

An account of the number of prisoners in the gaols and prisons of England and Wales, at the time they were visited in 1779, and 1782.

As some county gaols are also the county bridewells, where petty offenders are not always separated from felons; in those places I sometimes include petty offenders under the heading felons, etc. The reason of my distinguishing the women debtors, is to show that a room or two (appropriated by the magistrates) in the gaoler's house may probably be sufficient for them, instead of a separate ward, as proposed in my general plan for a county gaol (edit. 1). In this table I have omitted mentioning all those prisons in which, at the times of my visiting in those two years, there were no persons confined. Where a blank is left opposite a name, it signifies that the prison was not visited that year.

| | 1779 | | | | 1782 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Debtors Men | Debtors Wom. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders | Debtors Men | Debtors Wom. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
| Abingdon | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| Appleby | 7 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Aylesbury | 6 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 19 | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Aylsham | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | | | | |
| Barking | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Basford | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Bath | 10 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Batley | 17 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Beaumaris | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Beccles | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15 |
| Bedford | 7 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Town | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Berkeley | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Berkhamstead | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Berwick | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Beverley | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Town | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Hall-garth | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Birmingham | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Court prison | | | | | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | 59 | 2 | 17 | 34 | 71 | 7 | 13 | 49 |

| | 1779 | | | | 1782 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Debtors Men | Debtors Wom. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders | Debtors Men | Debtors Wom. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
| Bodmin | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 12 | 2 | 4 | 8 |
| Sheriff's Ward | 12 | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Boston | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bradford | 11 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Brecon | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Brecon Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Bristol | 41 | 6 | 9 | 0 | 27 | 6 | 32 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19 |
| Lawford's-gate | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Buntingford | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Bury St. Edmunds | 18 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 14 | 2 | 11 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Cambridge | 20 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Town | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Canterbury | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 6 |
| Cardiff | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Town | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Cardigan | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Carlisle | 32 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 28 | 2 | 9 | 0 |
| City | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Carmarthen | 13 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 13 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Town | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Carnarvon | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Chelmsford | 34 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 28 | 0 | 19 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 28 |
| Chester | 18 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 19 | 3 | 5 | 0 |
| City | 6 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Chesterfield Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Cirencester | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Clare | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Colchester | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Coventry | 5 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Cowbridge | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Dartford | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Derby | 12 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 9 | 3 |
| Town | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Devizes | 1 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 25 |
| Dolgelly | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Doncaster | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dorchester | 14 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Town gaol | | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dover Castle | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Town | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Durham | 12 | 2 | 22 | 0 | 18 | 2 | 19 | 0 |
| Durham Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Ely | 7 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | 280 | 17 | 118 | 116 | 271 | 28 | 151 | 146 |

| | 1779 | | | | 1782 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Debtors | | Felons | Petty | Debtors | | Felons | Petty |
| | Men | Wom. | etc. | Offenders | Men | Wom. | etc. | Offenders |
| Exeter | 0 | 0 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 0 |
| Sheriff's Ward | 35 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 43 |
| City | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Flint | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Folkingham | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Gainsborough | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Gloucester | 15 | 1 | 24 | 0 | 33 | 5 | 38 | 0 |
| City | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | | | | |
| Gosport | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Guildford | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Halifax | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Halstead | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Haverfordwest | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Town | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Henley | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Hereford | 18 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 23 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Bridewell | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| City | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Hertford | 1 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Hitchin | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Horsham | 12 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Hull | 8 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Huntingdon | 10 | 1 | 14 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Ipswich | 22 | 2 | 23 | 0 | 26 | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Ivelchester | 32 | 1 | 15 | 0 | 35 | 3 | 14 | 0 |
| Kendal Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Kettering | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Kingston | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 |
| Knaresbrough | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lancaster | 67 | 5 | 11 | 0 | 55 | 2 | 17 | 0 |
| Launceston | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lavenham | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Leeds | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Leicester | 22 | 1 | 10 | 0 | 19 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Town | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Lewes | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Lichfield | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Lincoln | 22 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 28 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| City | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Liverpool | 22 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 3 | 14 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| London Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 32 |
| Borough Compter | 13 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| Clerkenwell | 0 | 0 | 45 | 0 | 77 | 2 | 4 | 5 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 171 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 155 |
| Fleet | 177 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 183 | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| King's Bench | 473 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 494 | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| | 973 | 52 | 239 | 262 | 1102 | 51 | 167 | 315 |

| | 1779 | | | | 1782 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Debtors | | Felons | Petty Offenders | Debtors | | Felons | Petty Offenders |
| London—*continued* | Men | Wom. | etc. | | Men | Wom. | etc. | |
| Marshalsea | 88 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 38 | 9 | 0 | 2 |
| Newgate | 46 | 5 | 141 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 291 | 0 |
| New Ludgate | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Poultry Compter | 43 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 1 | 7 | 0 |
| Savoy | 0 | 0 | 0 | 98 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 92 |
| Tothill-Fields Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 74 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 72 |
| Whitechapel | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wood-St. Compter | 32 | 6 | 11 | 0 | 47 | 7 | 17 | 0 |
| Lostwithiel | | | | | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ludlow | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lynn Regis | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Macclesfield | | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Maidstone | 15 | 0 | 23 | 0 | 23 | 1 | 56 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 11 |
| Manchester | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| Marlborough | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Middlewich | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| Mildenhall | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Monmouth | 6 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Town | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Montgomery | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Morpeth | 9 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 14 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Nantwich | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Newcastle | 13 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| Tower Gaol | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Tallow-house | | | | | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Newport, Essex | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15 |
| Isle of Wight | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Northampton | 14 | 1 | 15 | 0 | 17 | 2 | 9 | 1 |
| Town | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Norwich | 23 | 1 | 29 | 0 | 24 | 1 | 23 | 0 |
| City | 19 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 14 | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Nottingham | 12 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Town | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Oakham | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Odiam | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Oundle | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Oxford | 12 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 21 | 4 | 31 | 0 |
| City Bridewell | | | | | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Peterborough | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Petworth | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Plymouth | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Poole Bridewell | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Portsmouth | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Presteign | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Preston | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 17 |
| | 377 | 23 | 266 | 258 | 321 | 31 | 475 | 283 |

| | 1779 | | | | 1782 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Debtors Men | Debtors Wom. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders | Debtors Men | Debtors Wom. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
| Reading | 8 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 18 | 1 | 11 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| Richmond | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 12 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Ripon Liberty | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Town | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Rochester | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Romney | | | | | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Ruthin | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 0 |
| St. Alban's Borough Gaol | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Liberty | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| St. George's Fields Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 44 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 16 |
| Salisbury | 16 | 1 | 15 | 0 | 18 | 2 | 13 | 3 |
| City | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sheffield | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Shepton-Mallet | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Sherborne | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| Shrewsbury | 19 | 4 | 10 | 0 | 17 | 2 | 19 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Town | 1 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Southampton Sheriff's Ward | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Town | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Southwark | 20 | 3 | 14 | 0 | 21 | 2 | 42 | 0 |
| Southwell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Spalding | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Stafford | 40 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 37 | 1 | 20 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| Stamford | | | | | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Swaffham | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Taunton | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Town | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Thame | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Thetford | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thirsk | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Tiverton | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Usk | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Wakefield | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 26 |
| Walsingham | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | | | | |
| Warwick | 21 | 1 | 28 | 0 | 31 | 1 | 11 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Winchcomb | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Winchester | 12 | 0 | 26 | 0 | 32 | 1 | 28 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23 |
| Town | | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Windsor Castle | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Town | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wisbech | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Witney | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Wolverhampton | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| | 165 | 11 | 123 | 205 | 201 | 14 | 158 | 203 |

| | 1779 Men | Debtors Wom. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders | 1782 Men | Debtors Wom. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Woodbridge | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Worcester | 18 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 13 | 2 | 7 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| City | 5 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Wrexham | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Wymondham | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Yarmouth | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| York | 64 | 9 | 16 | 0 | 64 | 5 | 13 | 0 |
| City | 9 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| St. Peter's | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | 105 | 14 | 35 | 22 | 194 | 12 | 90 | 125 |
| *From foregoing pages* | 59 | 2 | 17 | 34 | 71 | 7 | 13 | 49 |
| | 280 | 17 | 118 | 116 | 271 | 28 | 151 | 146 |
| | 973 | 52 | 239 | 282 | 1102 | 51 | 167 | 315 |
| | 377 | 23 | 266 | 258 | 321 | 31 | 475 | 284 |
| | 165 | 11 | 123 | 205 | 201 | 14 | 158 | 203 |
| *Great Total* | 1959 | 119 | 798 | 917 | 2058 | 139 | 991 | 1017 |

| | 1779 | 1782 |
|---|---|---|
| Men debtors | 1959 | 2058 |
| Women debtors | 119 | 139 |
| Felons, etc. | 798 | 991 |
| Petty offenders | 917 | 1017 |
| Prisoners in the hulks | 526 | 204 |
| Supposed omitted | 60 | 30 |
| *Total number of Prisoners* | 4379 | 4439 |

Though I have visited all the county gaols, and almost all the other prisons; yet as there are some few of the corporation prisons which I did not see, I have added sixty more prisoners to the number in 1779, and thirty in 1782; so that probably, we have nearly the average number of persons confined at one time in the prisons of this kingdom.

I subjoin the numbers, confined in the London prisons and in the hulks,[1] at the time they were visited in 1783, which are as follows.

| | Debtors Men | Wom. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 38 |
| Borough Compter | 25 | 3 | 0 | 2 |
| Clerkenwell | 0 | 0 | 79 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 2 | 4 | 0 | 185 |
| Fleet | 187 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| King's Bench | 557 | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| | 771 | 35 | 79 | 225 |

[1] I do not include those sickly convicts on board the *Censor*.

| | Debtors Men | Debtors Wom. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Brought forward* | 771 | 35 | 79 | 225 |
| Marshalsea | 65 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Newgate | 101 | 12 | 224 | 0 |
| New Ludgate | 14 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Poultry Compter | 30 | 0 | 19 | 0 |
| Savoy | 0 | 0 | 0 | 56 |
| Tothill-Fields Bridewell | 4 | 2 | 0 | 86 |
| Wood-Street Compter | 34 | 0 | 36 | 0 |
| In the hulks | 0 | 0 | 194 | 0 |
| *Total* | 1019 | 56 | 552 | 367 |

## TABLE II

An account of the number of prisoners in the gaols and prisons of Ireland at the times they were visited in 1787 and 1788.

In this table I have omitted mentioning those prisons in which, at the times of my visiting in those two years, there were no persons confined.

N.B. Where ciphers are opposite a name, it signifies that the prison was not visited that year.

| | 1787 Debts. | 1787 Crim. | 1788 Debts. | 1788 Crim. | | 1787 Debts. | 1787 Crim. | 1788 Debts. | 1788 Crim. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Armagh | 2 | 18 | 0 | 0 | Kilkenny | 2 | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| Carlow | 0 | 0 | 4 | 5 | City | 3 | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| Carrickfergus | 5 | 21 | 0 | 0 | Kilmainham | 7 | 27 | 8 | 47 |
| Town | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | Lifford | 12 | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Carrick on Shannon | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | Limerick | 6 | 19 | 0 | 0 |
| Castlebar | 0 | 0 | 4 | 6 | City | 12 | 26 | 7 | 10 |
| Cavan | 1 | 36 | 0 | 0 | Londonderry | 12 | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| Clonmell | 10 | 51 | 19 | 62 | Longford | 8 | 8 | 12 | 20 |
| Cork | 31 | 64 | 23 | 73 | Loughrea Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| City | 67 | 45 | 76 | 49 | Maryborough | 2 | 11 | 1 | 7 |
| Bridewell | 2 | 7 | 4 | 5 | Monaghan | 13 | 33 | 0 | 0 |
| Downpatrick | 9 | 26 | 0 | 0 | Mullingar | 2 | 24 | 1 | 19 |
| Dublin Bridewell | 0 | 6 | 0 | 12 | Naas | 3 | 19 | 0 | 0 |
| City Marshalsea | 92 | 0 | 66 | 0 | Omagh | 16 | 19 | 0 | 0 |
| Four C. Marshalsea | 150 | 0 | 180 | 0 | Philipstown | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Newgate | 1 | 190 | 0 | 220 | Roscommon | 1 | 33 | 3 | 13 |
| Police Prison | 0 | 32 | 0 | 12 | Sligo | 0 | 0 | 2 | 19 |
| Thos. Court & Donor | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Tralee | 0 | 0 | 5 | 35 |
| Dundalk | 5 | 8 | 0 | 0 | Trim | 0 | 0 | 5 | 25 |
| Ennis. | 0 | 0 | 6 | 19 | Waterford | 2 | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| Enniskillen | 3 | 15 | 0 | 0 | City | 3 | 7 | 4 | 7 |
| Galway | 4 | 14 | 0 | 0 | Wexford | 0 | 0 | 7 | 12 |
| City | 7 | 12 | 0 | 0 | Wicklow | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 |

I have visited all the county gaols, and almost all the other prisons; yet, as there are some few of the town prisons which I did

not see, if we add twenty to the number of prisoners, we shall probably have nearly the average number of persons confined at one time in the prisons in Ireland, viz.: Debtors, 550; Criminals, 1004; Supposed omitted, 20; Total, 1574.

N.B. Where I have visited twice, viz., in 1787 and 1788, I have taken, in this estimate, the last number.

## TABLE III

An account of the number of prisoners in the gaols and prisons of England and Wales at the last time they were visited in 1787 or 1788.

As some county gaols are also the county bridewells, where petty offenders are not always separated from felons, in those places I sometimes include petty offenders under the heading felons, etc.—In this table I have omitted mentioning all those prisons in which, at the times of my visiting in these two years, there were no persons confined.

| | Debtors | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|
| Appleby | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Aston | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Aylesbury | 11 | 24 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Banbury | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Barking | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Bath | 2 | 6 | 0 |
| Batley | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| Beaumaris | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| Beccles | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Bedford | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Berwick | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Beverley | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Town | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Hall-garth | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Birmingham | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| Court Prison | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Bodmin | 18 | 5 | 24 |
| Brecon | 10 | 11 | 0 |
| Bridgewater | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Bristol | 24 | 43 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| Lawford's-gate | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Bury St. Edmunds | 7 | 17 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Cambridge | 7 | 8 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| Town | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Cardiff | 23 | 7 | 0 |
| | 141 | 139 | 131 |

| | Debtors | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|
| Carlisle | 32 | 20 | 2 |
| Carmarthen | 5 | 7 | 2 |
| Town | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Carnarvon | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Chelmsford | 31 | 76 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 30 |
| Chester | 19 | 37 | 0 |
| City | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Chesterfield | | | |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Chichester | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Colchester | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Coventry | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Cowbridge | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Dartford | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Derby | 7 | 11 | 0 |
| Town | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Devizes | 1 | 0 | 29 |
| Dorchester | 23 | 8 | 0 |
| Durham | 16 | 13 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Ely | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Exeter | 0 | 23 | 2 |
| Sheriff's Ward | 44 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 22 |
| City | 2 | 11 | 0 |
| Flint | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Falkingham | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | 208 | 235 | 143 |

| | Debtors | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gloucester | 24 | 57 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| City | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| Gosport | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Guildford | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Halifax | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Haverfordwest | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| Hereford | 6 | 25 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| City | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| Hertford | 8 | 3 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Horsham | 16 | 15 | 0 |
| Hull | 12 | 4 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| Huntingdon | 4 | 9 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Ipswich | 15 | 18 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Ivelchester | 57 | 17 | 0 |
| Kendal Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Kingston | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 24 |
| Lancaster | 53 | 65 | 0 |
| Launceston | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Leeds | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Leicester | 15 | 14 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Town | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Lincoln | 20 | 29 | 0 |
| City | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Liverpool | 18 | 22 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 15 |
| London Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 29 |
| Borough Compter | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| Clerkenwell | 0 | 167 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 3 | 0 | 234 |
| Fleet | 212 | 0 | 0 |
| King's Bench | 444 | 0 | 0 |
| Marshalsea | 37 | 0 | 0 |
| Newgate | 114 | 499 | 0 |
| New Ludgate | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| Poultry Compter | 35 | 19 | 0 |
| Savoy | 0 | 0 | 45 |
| Tothill-fields Bridewell | 3 | 0 | 135 |
| Tower Hamlets | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Westminster Prison | 0 | 0 | 94 |
| Wood Street Compter | 44 | 48 | 0 |
| | 1195 | 1030 | 634 |

| | Debtors | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lostwithiel | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Ludlow | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Macclesfield | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Maidstone | 31 | 80 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 25 |
| Manchester | 0 | 0 | 53 |
| Marlborough | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Middlewich | 0 | 0 | 24 |
| Monmouth | 6 | 10 | 0 |
| Town | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Montgomery | 9 | 12 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Morpeth | 15 | 12 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Nantwich | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Newcastle | 14 | 10 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Newport, Essex | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| Northampton | 9 | 20 | 0 |
| Town | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Norwich | 20 | 20 | 0 |
| City | 16 | 10 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Nottingham | 12 | 19 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Town | 5 | 0 | 1 |
| Oakham | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Odiam | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Oundle | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Oxford | 12 | 24 | 0 |
| City Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Peterborough | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Petworth | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Plymouth | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Portsmouth | 3 | 8 | 0 |
| Presteign | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| Preston | 1 | 0 | 37 |
| Reading | 10 | 18 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 17 |
| Ruthin | 12 | 9 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| St. Alban's Borough gaol | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Liberty | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| St. George's Fields Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 34 |
| Salisbury | 13 | 17 | 0 |
| Sheffield | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| Town | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Shepton-Mallet | 0 | 0 | 35 |
| Sherborn | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| | 220 | 282 | 302 |

| | Debtors. | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shrewsbury | 25 | 29 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| Southampton | | | |
| Sheriff's Ward | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Town | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Southwark | 26 | 55 | 0 |
| Southwell | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Stafford | 31 | 61 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 18 |
| Taunton | 0 | 9 | 14 |
| Thirsk | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Usk | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Wakefield | 0 | 0 | 54 |
| Warwick | 31 | 60 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| | 115 | 207 | 136 |
| *From foregoing pp.* | 141 | 139 | 131 |
| | 1195 | 1030 | 634 |
| *Great Total* | 1451 | 1376 | 901 |

| | Debtors | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|
| Winchester | 31 | 30 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 26 |
| Windsor Castle | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Town | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Worcester | 23 | 47 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| City | 12 | 15 | 0 |
| Wymondham | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Yarmouth | 1 | 9 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| York | 50 | 51 | 0 |
| City | 10 | 6 | 0 |
| St. Peter's | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| | 132 | 159 | 66 |
| | 208 | 235 | 143 |
| | 220 | 282 | 302 |
| *And* | 560 | 676 | 511 |

*Total number of* Debtors . 2011
„ Felons, etc. 2052
„ Petty Offenders 1412

*Total number of* Prisoners in the hulks 1937
„ supposed omitted 70

*Total number of prisoners* 7482

Though I have visited all the county gaols in England, and almost all the other prisons, yet as there are some few of the corporation prisons which I did not see, I have added seventy more prisoners to the number; so that, probably, we have nearly the average number of persons confined at one time in all the prisons of this kingdom.

I subjoin the numbers confined in the London prisons and in the hulks, at the time they were visited in 1788, which are as follows:

| | Debtors | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bridewell | 0 | 0 | 29 |
| Borough Compt. | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| Clerkenwell | 0 | 167 | 0 |
| Bridewell | 3 | 0 | 234 |
| Fleet | 212 | 0 | 0 |
| King's Bench | 444 | 0 | 0 |
| Marshalsea | 37 | 0 | 0 |
| Newgate | 114 | 499 | 0 |
| | 821 | 666 | 263 |

| | Debtors | Felons etc. | Petty Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|
| New Ludgate | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| Poultry Compt. | 35 | 19 | 0 |
| Savoy | 0 | 0 | 45 |
| Tothill-fields Bridewell | 3 | 0 | 135 |
| Tower Hamlets | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Westminster Prison | 0 | 0 | 94 |
| Wood Street Compter | 44 | 48 | 0 |
| In the Hulks | 0 | 1937 | 0 |
| | 106 | 2004 | 275 |
| *Great total* | 927 | 2670 | 538 |

# TABLE IV

An account of the number of convicts ordered for transportation, from the 1st of November, 1769, to the 1st of November, 1776; extracted from the lists transmitted to the Clerk of the House of Commons, and distinguishing:

(1) The number of convicts in that period, sent from the Old Bailey in London and Middlesex; the assizes in each county of England, where any are held; and the great sessions in Chester and Wales.

(2) The like from the quarter sessions.

(3) Totals of both.

(4) The annual average during that period, being really only six years and an half; the practice of transportation having in great measure ceased before the 1st of May, 1776.

HOME CIRCUIT

| | Gaol Deliveries and Great Sessions. | Quarter Sessions. | Total of both. | Yearly Average |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Essex | 106 | 10 | 116 | 18 |
| Hertfordshire | 49 | 5 | | |
| St. Alban's | 0 | 18 | 72 | 12 |
| Kent | 116 | 45 | | |
| Dover | 0 | 3 | 164 | 26 |
| Canterbury | 0 | 6 | 6 | 1 |
| Sussex | 34 | 3 | | |
| Chichester | 0 | 1 | 38 | 6 |
| Surrey | 167 | 83 | | |
| Southwark | 0 | 18 | 268 | 42 |

MIDLAND CIRCUIT

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Derbyshire | 27 | 17 | | |
| Derby | 0 | 5 | 49 | 8 |
| Lincolnshire | 50 | 0 | | |
| Pts. of Holland | 0 | [illegible] | | |
| Pts. of Kesteven | 0 | 1 | | |
| Pts. of Lindsey | 0 | 10 | 61 | 10 |
| Lincoln | 4 | 0 | 4 | 1 |
| Nottinghamshire | 19 | 20 | 39 | 6 |
| Nottingham | 7 | 7 | 14 | 3 |
| Rutlandshire | 8 | 0 | 8 | 2 |
| Leicestershire | 25 | 0 | 25 | 4 |
| Leicester | 9 | 3 | 12 | 2 |
| Northamptonshire | 28 | 13 | 41 | 7 |
| Warwickshire | 112 | 2 | 114 | 18 |
| Coventry | 28 | 0 | 28 | 5 |
| | 789 | 270 | 1059 | 171 |

NORFOLK CIRCUIT

| | Gaol Deliveries and Great Sessions. | Quarter Sessions. | Total of both. | Yearly Average |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bedfordshire | 40 | 0 | 40 | 7 |
| Buckinghamshire | 44 | 10 | 54 | 9 |
| Cambridgeshire | 23 | 2 | 25 | 4 |
| Ely | 8 | 0 | 8 | 2 |
| Huntingdonshire | 17 | 0 | 17 | 3 |
| Norfolk | 70 | 3 | | |
| King's Lynn | 9 | 9 | | |
| Yarmouth | 0 | 13 | 95 | 15 |
| Norwich | 12 | 0 | 12 | 2 |
| Suffolk | 72 | 4 | | |
| Bury | 0 | 5 | | |
| Ipswich | 0 | 5 | 86 | 14 |

NORTHERN CIRCUIT

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cumberland | 11 | 20 | 31 | 5 |
| Durham | 23 | 13 | 36 | 6 |
| Northumberland | 18 | 9 | | |
| Berwick | 0 | 2 | 29 | 5 |
| Newcastle-on-Tyne | 10 | 17 | 27 | 5 |
| Westmorland | 3 | 0 | | |
| Kirkby in Kendal | 0 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| Lancashire | 44 | 95 | | |
| Liverpool | 0 | 22 | | |
| Preston | 0 | 1 | | |
| Wigan | 0 | 4 | 166 | 26 |
| | 395 | 235 | 630 | 104 |

NORTHERN CIRCUIT—*continued*

| | Gaol Deliveries and Great Sessions. | Quarter Sessions. | Total of both. | Yearly Average |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yorkshire . | 124 | 0 | | |
| East Riding . | 0 | 14 | | |
| North Riding | 0 | 4 | | |
| West Riding . | 0 | 42 | | |
| Doncaster . | 0 | 1 | | |
| Leeds . | 0 | 7 | | |
| Pontefract . | 0 | 1 | | |
| Richmond . | 0 | 1 | | |
| Ripon . | 0 | 1 | 195 | 30 |
| York . | 12 | 5 | 17 | 3 |
| Kingston-on-Hull | 1 | 8 | 9 | 2 |

WESTERN CIRCUIT

| | Gaol Deliveries and Great Sessions. | Quarter Sessions | Total of both. | Yearly Average |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cornwall . | 53 | 25 | 78 | 12 |
| Devonshire . | 104 | 29 | | |
| Plymouth . | 0 | 7 | 140 | 22 |
| Exeter . | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 |
| Dorsetshire . | 53 | 11 | 64 | 10 |
| Poole . | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| Hampshire . | 113 | 5 | 118 | 19 |
| Southampton . | 1 | 5 | 6 | 1 |
| Wiltshire . | 60 | 26 | | |
| Salisbury . | 0 | 3 | 89 | 14 |
| Somersetshire . | 120 | 40 | 160 | 25 |
| Bristol . | 36 | 73 | 109 | 17 |
| City of London . | 699 | 0 | 699 | 107 |
| Middlesex . | 1365 | 394 | | |
| Westminster . | 0 | 159 | 1918 | 296 |

OXFORD CIRCUIT

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Berkshire . | 57 | 15 | | |
| Reading . | 0 | 7 | 79 | 13 |
| Oxfordshire . | 53 | 3 | | |
| Banbury . | 0 | 2 | | |
| Oxford . | 0 | 4 | 62 | 10 |
| Gloucestershire | 119 | 19 | 138 | 22 |
| Gloucester . | 7 | 7 | 14 | 3 |
| Herefordshire . | 49 | 0 | 49 | 8 |
| Monmouthshire | 44 | 2 | 46 | 8 |
| Salop . . | 82 | 12 | | |
| Shrewsbury . | 0 | 5 | 99 | 16 |
| Staffordshire . | 85 | 11 | 96 | 15 |
| Litchfield . | 0 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Worcestershire . | 59 | 0 | 59 | 10 |
| Worcester . | 15 | 0 | 15 | 3 |

CHESHIRE AND WALES

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cheshire . | 16 | 3 | 19 | |
| Chester . . | 0 | 14 | 14 | |
| Anglesey . | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| Brecknockshire | 14 | 0 | 14 | |
| Cardiganshire | 3 | 0 | 3 | |
| Carmarthenshire | 8 | 0 | 8 | |
| Carmarthen . | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Carnarvonshire | 2 | 1 | 3 | |
| Denbighshire . | 0 | 5 | 5 | |
| Flintshire . | 1 | 5 | 6 | |
| Glamorganshire | 12 | 0 | 12 | |
| Merionethshire | 5 | 0 | 5 | |
| Montgomeryshire | 5 | 0 | 5 | |
| Pembrokeshire | 5 | 0 | 5 | |
| Havefordwest | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Radnorshire . | 2 | 0 | 2 | 16 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 707 | 174 | 881 | 144 |
| *Foregoing page* | 789 | 270 | 1059 | 171 |
| | 1496 | 444 | 1940 | 315 |
| | 2680 | 814 | 3494 | 541 |
| | 395 | 235 | 630 | 104 |
| | 3075 | 1049 | 4124 | 645 |
| | 1496 | 444 | 1940 | 315 |
| *Great Total* | 4571 | 1493 | 6064 | 960 |

# TABLE V

A list of fees due to the Clerks of Assize [1] of the several circuits in England, and their offices, from prisoners charged with felony—burnt in the hand—whipped—acquitted—discharged by proclamation—or against whom bills are returned by the Grand Jury not true bills.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HOME CIRCUIT.** Burnt in the hand | 0 | 4 | 8 |
| Whipped | 0 | 4 | 8 |
| Acquitted | 0 | 8 | 4 |
| Discharged by proclamation | 0 | 8 | 4 |
| Recording every ignoramus in felony | 0 | 6 | 4[a] |
| **NORFOLK CIRCUIT.** Acquittal and order of delivery in murder | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| The like in all other felonies | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Order of delivery on proclamation | 0 | 15 | 8 |
| Ditto on ignoramus bill | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| **MIDLAND CIRCUIT.** Acquittal and discharge fee in murder | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| The like in all other felonies | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| Discharge fee on recording ignoramus bill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Discharge fee on proclamation | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| **OXFORD CIRCUIT.** For every prisoner acquitted of felony on one indictment discharged | 0 | 17 | 8 |
| For every acquittal after the first | 0 | 8 | 8 |
| For every prisoner discharged by proclamation | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| Guilty burnt in the hand or whipped and discharged | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| **WESTERN CIRCUIT.** Acquittal including plea and discharge | 1 | 10 | 8 |
| Ignoramus 13s. 4d. and discharge 13s. 4d. | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| Discharge by proclamation | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| Conviction in manslaughter | 0 | 17 | 4 |
| **NORTHERN CIRCUIT.** Not guilty discharged | 1 | 5 | 4 |
| Discharged by proclamation | 0 | 14 | 8 |

[1] The Clerks of Assize give to the judges large sums for their places. One of the present gentlemen gave for his place two thousand five hundred pounds. On many accounts these places ought not to be bought of the judges. If they were only presented, the fees might be much lower. The demand from several gaolers for a copy of the judge's calendar is now £1 1s. 0d., whereas his Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the officers and their fees, etc., in the Home Circuit, were of opinion that a demand not near so much was enormous, as we see in their report dated 1st December, 1735:

"Paid by the gaoler of the County of Surrey for the copy of a calendar . . . . . £0 7 6

"And by the gaoler of each of the other counties . . . 0 5 0

"As to these two last fees or articles, We are of opinion that they are unreasonable and no ways to be justified, etc."

[2] "We present this as a very hard and unreasonable fee to be executed and taken of a person who must be supposed (by the Bill being found ignoramus) to be innocent of the charge alleged against him in such a Bill, and therefore in our opinion is not to be justified."

*Report of his Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Officers and their fees, etc., of the Courts within the Home Circuits. Dated Dec. 1st, 1735.*

## TABLE VI

Felons delivered from Newgate to be transported.

| Sessions. | London. | Middlesex. | Hicks's Hall. | Westminster. | Tower Sessions. | Capital Respites. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1773 | | | | | | | |
| January | 10 | 19 | 3 | 6 | — | — | 38 |
| February | 8 | 24 | 9 | — | — | — | 41 |
| April | 16 | 24 | 19 | 14 | — | 20 | 93 |
| May | 10 | 29 | 14 | — | — | — | 53 |
| July | 14 | 49 | 6 | 5 | — | — | 74 |
| September | 11 | 24 | 9 | — | — | — | 44 |
| October | 10 | 17 | 8 | 6 | — | — | 41 |
| December | 10 | 15 | 9 | — | — | 17 | 51 |
| | 89 | 201 | 77 | 31 | — | 37 | 435 |
| 1774 | | | | | | | |
| January | 4 | 18 | 3 | — | — | — | 25 |
| February | 16 | 33 | 7 | 3 | 1 | — | 60 |
| April | 15 | 24 | 17 | 13 | 1 | — | 70 |
| May | 6 | 22 | 2 | — | — | — | 30 |
| July | 14 | 22 | 12 | 8 | 4 | 30 | 90 |
| September | 22 | 16 | 10 | — | 2 | 1 | 51 |
| October | 8 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 1 | — | 28 |
| December | 14 | 22 | 16 | — | 1 | 13 | 66 |
| | 99 | 165 | 73 | 29 | 10 | 44 | 420 |
| 1775 | | | | | | | |
| January | 9 | 29 | 14 | 9 | — | — | 61 |
| February | 9 | 20 | 7 | — | 2 | — | 38 |
| April | 19 | 17 | 12 | 4 | — | — | 52 |
| May | 5 | 9 | 2 | — | — | — | 16 |
| July | 6 | 11 | 7 | 5 | — | 20 | 49 |
| September | 14 | 20 | 6 | — | — | — | 40 |
| October | 9 | 10 | 7 | 4 | 2 | — | 32 |
| December | 8 | 9 | 7 | — | 1 | 11 | 36 |
| | 79 | 125 | 62 | 22 | 5 | 31 | 324 |
| | | | | *Great total* | | | 1179 |

## TABLE VII

Abstract of Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen's table of criminals condemned, executed, and pardoned, at the Old Bailey, London, from the year 1749 to 1771, both inclusive.

| Peace | Condemned. | Executed. | Pardoned, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1749 | 61 | 44 | 17 |
| 1750 | 84 | 56 | 28 |
| 1751 | 85 | 63 | 22 |
| 1752 | 52 | 47 | 5 |
| 1753 | 57 | 41 | 16 |
| 1754 | 50 | 34 | 16 |
| 1755 | 39 | 21 | 18 |
| | 428 | 306 | 122 |

| | Condemned | Executed. | Pardoned, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|
| PEACE AND WAR | | | |
| 1756 | 30 | 13 | 17 |
| WAR | | | |
| 1757 | 37 | 26 | 11 |
| 1758 | 32 | 20 | 12 |
| 1759 | 15 | 6 | 9 |
| 1760 | 14 | 10 | 4 |
| 1761 | 22 | 17 | 5 |
| 1762 | 25 | 15 | 10 |
| PEACE AND WAR | | | |
| 1763 | 61 | 32 | 29 |
| | 236 | 139 | 97 |
| PEACE | | | |
| 1764 | 52 | 31 | 21 |
| 1765 | 41 | 26 | 15 |
| 1766 | 39 | 20 | 19 |
| 1767 | 49 | 22 | 27 |
| 1768 | 54 | 27 | 27 |
| 1769 | 71 | 24 | 47 |
| 1770 | 91 | 49 | 42 |
| 1771 | 60 | 34 | 26 |
| | 457 | 233 | 224 |
| TOTAL | 1121 | 678 | 443 |

THE RESPECTIVE OFFENCES

| | Murder. | House-breaking. | Highway. | Horse-stealing. | Forgery. | Coining. | Returning from Transportation. | Defrauding Creditors. | Shop-lifting, Riot, and 12 other Crimes. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sentenced to Death | 81 | 208 | 362 | 90 | 95 | 11 | 31 | 3 | 240 | 1121 |
| Executed | 72 | 118 | 251 | 22 | 71 | 10 | 22 | 3 | 109 | 678 |
| Pardoned, transported, or died in gaol | 9 | 90 | 111 | 68 | 24 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 131 | 443 |

Of the hundred and twenty sessions in the fifteen years of peace (eight in a year) only one was maiden, in 1749. Of the sixty-four sessions in the eight years of war, nine were maiden.

Sir Stephen intending a list only of those who were condemned to die, has not in his table a column for transport convicts. But at the bottom of the sheet he notes that there were

Transported for seven or fourteen years . 5199

To which number he adds

Transported by the king's mercy (after receiving sentence of death) . . 401

Total transports . . 5600

The second number of transports 401 is, doubtless, part of the number 443, the last of the three totals above.

## TABLE VIII

An account of the number of convicts executed, for London and Middlesex; from December 1771 to December 1783.

| | Murder. | | Coiners. | | Various Crimes. | | Rioters. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men. | Wom. | Men. | Wom. | Men. | Wom. | Men. | Wom. | Total. |
| 1771–1772 . | 3 | — | 2 | — | 32 | — | — | — | 37 |
| 1772–1773 . | 1 | 1 *burnt* | 1 | — | 29 | — | — | — | 32 |
| 1773–1774 . | — | 1 | — | — | 31 | — | — | — | 32 |
| 1774–1775 . | 1 | 1 | 3 | — | 40 | 1 | — | — | 46 |
| 1775–1776 . | 6 | — | 8 | — | 24 | — | — | — | 38 |
| 1776–1777 . | 2 | — | 1 | — | 29 | — | — | — | 32 |
| 1777–1778 . | 1 | — | 1 | — | 31 | — | — | — | 33 |
| 1778–1779 . | — | — | 2 | 1 *burnt* | 19 | 1 | — | — | 23 |
| 1779–1780 . | 1 | — | 2 | — | 24 | 1 | 19 | 3 | 50 |
| 1780–1781 . | 1 | — | 1 | — | 33 | 5 | — | — | 40 |
| 1781–1782 . | — | — | — | — | 44 | 1 | — | — | 45 |
| 1782–1783 . | — | — | 6 | — | 52 | 1 | — | — | 49 |
| | 16 | 3 | 27 | 1 | 388 | 10 | 19 | 3 | 467 |

I persuade myself that my readers will excuse the insertion of several tables here which I have before given in my last publication, as this book may fall into the hands of some who have not the other in their possession. And may I not indulge the hope that, many years after I shall be dead and forgotten, these tables, being of a public nature, will be occasionally reviewed, and may have inferences drawn from them which will, in their consequences, contribute to alleviate the miseries of mankind, and add something to the general stock of happiness among the human race?

---

I shall now close this work with suggesting a plan which I think would, if adopted, be attended with public utility.

"Since the office of a gaoler or keeper of a prison is very important, and, when discharged with fidelity and humanity, deserves great encouragement; and as the late act prohibits women from being keepers; I could wish that there should be a small provision made by an annuity for the widow or children of every faithful and attentive gaoler who dies in that office; not out of the succeeding gaoler's salary, but clear and independent thereof. I have known some valuable keepers, and their wives, die of the gaol-fever; and is it not a distressing consideration that such persons, though they have properly attended to their duty, should leave families unprovided for? Who would not regret that such men as George Smith, late

keeper of Tothill-fields bridewell,[1] should be exposed to the unhappiness of leaving a wife, or children, or both, without any comfortable provision for their support? This object appears the more desirable, as it may now be hoped that the abolition of the tap, and the allowance of salaries in lieu of the profits which were derived from the sale of liquors, will be the means of engaging people of more credit, and who will pay greater attention to their duty, to undertake the office of gaolers or keepers of prisons. Such persons I have observed to be placed in foreign prisons; and among them, some of their wives take a very active part, looking frequently in upon the prisoners of their own sex, and paying a kind attention to them.

"Should the plan take place, during my life, of establishing a permanent charity, under some such title as that at Philadelphia, viz., "A Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons," and annuities be engrafted thereupon for the above-mentioned purpose, I would most readily stand at the bottom of a page as a subscriber of £500; or if such a society shall be constituted within three years after my death, this sum shall be paid out of my estate."

[From *An Account of Lazarettos*, p. 259.]

[1] Mr. George Smith, who died in 1786, was keeper of Tothill-fields bridewell at my first visit in April 1774; and my many subsequent visits fully convinced me of his integrity and humanity. He was a striking example of a constant, unabated zeal in the discharge of the important trust reposed in him.

# NOTES

## NOTE A.—BRIDEWELLS

(*See page* 37)

The distinction between gaols and bridewells (or houses of correction) was historical, and, as is evident from Howard's own work, had already become blurred. Thus, in 1779, an act for establishing a national penitentiary to relieve the hulks (see Note D), constituted both prisons and bridewells penitentiaries, pending the erection of such an institution, although the distinction was not abolished by law until 1865.

Gaols, properly speaking, were places where individuals could be kept in safe custody pending their trial, their execution, their transportation, or the payment of their debts. Detention in them, theoretically at least, was not as an end in itself, but a temporary expedient.

Bridewells, on the other hand, were established under the Elizabethan Poor Law Acts as houses of correction for dissolute paupers and idle apprentices. They were thus penal establishments, both in intention and in fact.

## NOTE B.—PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS

(*See page* 19)

Howard's recommendations for reform were obviously sane, practicable, and desirable, yet a century after he began his work they were only partially adopted, while even to-day there are particulars in which prisons could be improved on lines suggested by him. Nevertheless, the story of the prisons since 1777 is the story of the gradual approximation to Howard's ideals.

Enlightened opinion was in favour of the reforms from the first, and Parliament showed its approval of them even during Howard's lifetime. But Parliament's control over the prisons was rudimentary at this stage, and it was only as central control increased that an improvement in their condition became general.

In this process three main periods can be distinguished. The first, from the time of Howard's appearance as prison reformer until 1835 may be called the period of Private Endeavour; the second, from 1835 to 1877 that of National Supervision; the third, from 1877 to the present day, that of National Administration.

The first period contains many famous names—Blackstone, Eden, Romilly, Nield, Paul, Buxton, Elizabeth Fry—and these kept burning the torch kindled by Howard. But the prisons generally showed little sign of improvement, save in isolated cases where the local authorities were exceptionally conscientious. Acts passed in 1779 and 1791, the first for the establishment of a National Penitentiary, the second applying the principles of the penitentiary to all places of detention, were inoperative. Prison fees were abolished by law in 1815, but there was no inspection to see that the abolition was effected. In 1823 Peel, then Home Secretary, introduced and passed the first Government measure dealing with the gaols. This was largely a consolidating act, reaffirming the various principles which had before (in 1779 and 1791) been enacted and neglected, and making it the duty of the justices to furnish quarterly reports to the Home Secretary on the condition of their gaols. But this measure again failed to institute any machinery to enforce its provisions and, moreover, applied only to the county gaols, leaving untouched the majority of the borough and franchise gaols as well as the great London debtors' prisons, with results that may be appreciated from a reading of *Pickwick Papers* and *Little Dorrit*.

In 1835, however, a real advance was made under the reformed Parliament, and a bill was passed which applied to all prisons, not merely those included in Peel's act, and which for the first time established inspectors. Thus the period of National Supervision was inaugurated.

National Supervision implies a national policy. Some sort of standard had to be set before the more lax of the local authorities, some sort of course steered between the conflicting principles followed out by the others.

Following an enormous increase in the prison population in the eighteen-twenties, which Sidney Smith among others attributed to the comparative attractions of some of the better regulated gaols, deterrence became the watchword, and the era of the treadmill and the crank began. At the same

time reasonable standards of hygiene and organisation were exacted from the more recalcitrant authorities, reformatories were established, and on the whole the prison population benefited. The scandal of Birmingham Gaol in 1853, however, the subject of Charles Reade's novel, *It's Never Too Late to Mend*, showed what horrors could be perpetrated under conditions of even limited local autonomy, and paved the way for the acts of 1865 and 1877, under which the prisons finally became the sole charge of the State. But it was motives of public economy which finally determined this step, because the absurdity of having a prison in each borough, to hold perhaps half a dozen prisoners, had become patent with the improvement of communications.

Under unitary control there was perfected a uniform prison system which up to a point would have won Howard's unstinted admiration. Every prisoner had a spotlessly clean and airy cell, gaol officials were all salaried public servants, under constant supervision from the Home Office, rigid order was everywhere enforced, so that the mere idea of drunkenness in a prison became grotesque.

But Howard would have been quick to notice that the young beginner was confined together with the old offender, and those guilty of trifling offences with both. He would have noticed that certain tasks then performed (for instance on the crank) seemed, as he had once said, calculated merely to torment the prisoners. He would have noticed, above all, that there was a complete absence of humanity in all prisons: that it was made utterly impossible for a prisoner to receive a service or a kindness from another prisoner, and very nearly impossible for him to receive these things from an official or an outside philanthropist. He would have noticed that as a result of these things the great majority of prisoners still came out worse men than they had gone in. Or more probably he would have been unable to notice any of these things, because the authorities would have taken great care never to have let a meddling amateur like Howard inside a gaol wall.

Since the beginning of the century, and especially during the past few years, an attempt has been made to remedy these defects. Borstal Institutions and separate establishments for young prisoners have been introduced, but still there are prisons where the old offender and young beginner are not wholly separated. The crank was abolished at the end of

the last century, and efforts have been made to establish reasonable prison industries (in spite of the trade unions), but still oakum picking and mailbag stitching persist. The prisons to some extent have been thrown open to the public, and association between certain grades of convicts in certain prisons has been instituted, but still a large number of prisoners spend fourteen consecutive hours every day alone in their cells, for months, sometimes for years on end.

So that an English citizen to-day cannot feel his conscience quite at rest as he reads his Howard, while certain other nations have even less cause for self-satisfaction.

## NOTE C.—CONVICTS

(*See page* 19)

The word "convict" used by Howard has not precisely the same significance as at the present day. A convict now is understood to mean one who is undergoing a sentence of penal servitude (i.e. a sentence of not less than three years).

In Howard's day a convict was a person who had been convicted of a crime, and was awaiting the appropriate punishment (which in theory was never imprisonment, but either transportation or execution).

## NOTE D.—TRANSPORTATION AND THE HULKS

(*See page* 252)

Generally speaking, there were but two punishments for the felon in the eighteenth century—execution or transportation to the American Colonies.

The latter alternative having been made impossible by the American War of Independence, the transports, as a purely temporary measure, were lodged in the hulks (disused men-of-war). At no time was this regarded as a satisfactory solution of the problem of their disposal. Nevertheless, their use continued for almost a century, the last being closed in 1857.

The policy of transportation, condemned by Howard, was revived in 1787, when the first draft of convicts was dispatched to Australia. The last consignment sailed in 1867.

## NOTE E.—PENITENTIARY HOUSES

(*See page* 260)

Howard's proposed penitentiary house, upon which he enlarges in this volume, was the ancestor of the modern model prison. Other links in its genesis were Bentham's projected Panopticon, and Millbank Penitentiary and Pentonville Prison.

Howard's penitentiary was never built, in spite of the fact that an act was passed in 1779 authorising its construction, and a committee, of which Howard was a member, appointed to choose a site. Neither was Bentham's Panopticon erected, although he made a contract with the Government for it in 1794. The idea persisted, however, and during the decade 1810–20 Millbank was constructed at a cost of nearly three quarters of a million pounds. Pentonville followed in 1842 and still stands. Millbank, happily, was pulled down in 1891, and the Tate Gallery now occupies its site.

## NOTE F.—EXECUTIONS IN ENGLAND

(*See page* 289)

The following quotation from Henry Fielding's *Inquiry into the Late Increase of Robbers* offers an interesting contrast:

> The Day appointed by the Law for the Thief's Shame is the Day of Glory in his own Opinion. His Procession to Tyburn and his last moments there are all triumphant; attended with the Compassion of the meek and tender-hearted, and with the Applause, Admiration, and Envy of all the bold and hardened. His Behaviour in his present Condition, not the Crimes, how atrocious soever, which brought him to it, are the Subject of Contemplation. And if he hath Sense enough to temper his Boldness with any Degree of Decency, his Death is spoke of by many with Honour, by most with Pity and by all with Approbation.

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